

JOSHUA PAYNE.

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upon

EARTH.

By a polish exile.

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PREAMBLE.

A stranger across the sea,-no matter my humble name. Son of a nobleman, I was born on the same day with our Lord Jesus With the brightest prospects for the future, and a finished military education at eighteen years, I left the polytechnic school, and entered the regiment of royal horse-guard artillery as an ensign, and had hardly served one year when insurrection broke out in Warsaw, in the year 1830. War followed, and the dreadful carnage lasted eight months, in which short time we fought fifty-five battles, or seven battles per month, with the tremendous army of Russians, who paid us a visit with 400,000 slaves, dragging with them no less than 450 artillery We received them joyfully with only 52,000 freemen, having only 80 guns. We feared not the number, for our every breast was a mountain, and every sword in the hand of a Pole was a thunderbolt. The love of our country was our commander, and the frightful numerical superiority of our enemy, was only a proof of our magnanimity. After having killed 200,000 of the enemy, and losing ourselves 30,000 men, and after the visitation of cholera, which pounced upon us all without distinction, and strangled nearly 100,000 Russians and 15,000 of ours, the Poles perceived that, although there was every thing necessary to lay the Northern Giant prostrate, such as money, men, bravery, and sacrifice, there was not one single head to make a good disposal of it: a great truth, said the Austrian minister, Kaunitz, that "Nature forces herself one century to produce a

genial man, and then she reposes another." Such a man was not in Poland then. Russia resorted already to her last resources, and was obliged to send her life-guards from St Petersburgh to continue the war. The Poles made also new levies; yet, strange to say,—although 50,000 Poles started against 400,000 Russians, and after so many glorious victories over the Russians, an army of 70,000 of them took Warsaw, defended by 30,000 Poles, whilst another 36,000 Poles were only at a day's distance from Warsaw, sent there foolishly for provisions. Thus 66,000 Poles laid down their arms before 80,000 already exhausted Russians!

After this catastrophe, from heart-rending scenes of cruelty and barbarity of the enemy, nearly 10,000 Poles, chiefly officers and leaders of the insurrection, sought an asylum abroad, to escape death, prisons, or the mines of Siberia. I followed my brothers in arms, and spent my eighteen years by travelling in Gallicia, Germany, Prussia, France, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Having no particular profession, and not fond of sedentary employment, I rambled about without any aim, visiting constantly the principal towns and cities where there was anything to be seen; and, introduced constantly into new societies and families of different nations, and shades and rank in society, my curiosity grew so powerful to examine the towns, their beauties and deficiencies, their splendours and imperfections, as well as the manners and morals of my acquaintances, and the comforts and miseries of the inhabitants in general, that it became within me a reigning passion and my sole desire, to gratify which I spared no time or trouble. Thinking always to return to my own desolated, destroyed, and tyrannized-over country, I wanted to know a great deal about society in the towns and villages, as a matter of perhaps beneficial observation and scrutiny, to be applied at some future day to Poland. Plenty of time was at my disposal. I had no taste for novels, for I hate theory and admire only practice. My own powerful imagination supplied me often in reality with that which others have only from fancy tales: -but I greatly loved,

and always devoured anxiously every kind of national or local history, which caused my thoughts to wander far and wide. Such thoughts were my dear little children,—they amused and cherished me often. My mind was eager to penetrate into every corner of heaven, earth, and human society.

At last I arrived to the period when the abundance of my thoughts and ideas became so burdensome, and weighed on my mind so heavily, that they really oppressed me. I often wished I could burst them out to some kind and generous hearts, to sound and virtuous minds. But how to find them, and where, in this selfish world? The things I have seen, and which I now know, make me feel as if I had a Methusal age, and centurial experience. Be what may, I will write them down to see what men shall say to ideas and thoughts a century in advance. The thunders of criticism I dread not, for I neither laugh nor criticise society, but simply shall speak an "unvarnished tale" of the working-man and his hut, as well as of the emperor and his royal castle. I write them not to the glory of myself, but to the benefit of all.

THE AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH, 1848.

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PREFACE.

This work, as will be seen from the Preamble, is not written for a particular nation or a peculiar race of men—a Chinese or a Turk—a Hindoo or a Russian—a Brazilian or an Englishman—all may be addressed the same, for it is not written for religionists nor politicians—neither for nobility nor mob, but it begs humbly to submit its unpresuming leaves to the kind perusal of men of sound virtue, unsophisticated charity, good feeling, and good sense.

It is written for the few; for the whole annals of mankind prove that the whole long range of centuriated events were trained up, directed and led by the few. That the most divine thoughts and expressions came from the few, and the most dazzling and brilliant inventions and productions are the result of only a few. Such few were always either a bliss or a scourge of the whole human race, and the whole earth now is under the power and control of such few, and from them all nations shall receive their happiness or misery. Here lies the secret—that upon the virtue and feeling of such few hang the joy or suffering of millions of men.

The present few who saddle mankind, are not in the extravagant possession of holy inspirations, nor a pre-abundance of virtue to measure justice, although society will always look and require from those upon whom Heaven bountifully lavishes the divine capacities, to be not its terror or plague, but, angel-like, helpers of bliss and comfort to men.

We all know that the primitive state of human society was slavery: which slavery was the general custom of antiquity, and the ancients used to eatch men like dogs and make them work; and that since Christianity equalized the slave with his master,

men found another way of usurping the labour of others. If we take a rapid glance of the history of mankind, we will perceive three different and conspicuous epochs, which form the successive reigns of three different aristocracies.

The first epoch was the aristocracy of rank.

It rose in the primitive times of the settlement of nations. Those times were very stormy, and unceasing wars were carried on by all people; one part, therefore, was obliged to cultivate the land, whilst the other was fighting; but as soon as the danger was over, the masters of the battle-fields were the masters of the corn-fields. Hence sprang nobles and their serfs, and such was the whole fabric of the feudal ages. They wielded their absolute sceptre, till their too preponderating and too heavy power became a burden. There was often great distress, starvation, revolutions, and outbreaks of the people, until the aristocracy of rank, indifferent to all claims and redresses. lost entirely the hearts and good feelings of the whole people, and the Roman empire fell with a tremendous crash under the rolling tempest of barbarian invaders, who easily overwhelmed Europe with its kings, generals, consuls, and dictators; whose subjects, unwilling to submit to their power, and indifferent to their own fate, allowed themselves to be conquered, preferring to kiss the wooden chains of the enemy, rather than bear the golden yoke of native tyrants.

The second epoch was the aristocracy of birth.

Upon the ruins of the Roman empire rose a number of kingdoms; and the extinction of the aristocracy of rank was replaced by the aristocracy of birth. The feudalism was obliged to yield to the powers of different kings, formed upon the broken empire. The thrones were soon surrounded by a new class of men, called courtiers and state persons, privileged by the kings to support their power, which class, by the right of birth, so artfully divided between themselves the whole social world, that there was nothing left to the other class but to live dependent on their grace and favour, and work hard, solely to maintain their existence. Hence were the grandees and their subjects, and the second epoch of the aristocracy. They again wielded their boasting sceptre, and, successful in their bright career, they forgot that their sceptre began to weigh too heavily on the necks of the people. In that epoch, as well as in the previous one, there was great distress, starvation, wars, and outbreaks of the people; deafness

to claims, and unwillingness of redress, till tired mankind ranged themselves in the phalanxes of democracy, and burst out in a rage; and, passing with the rapidity of lightning to the extreme ends of the earth, called the people to the resurrection! volcano vomited its boisterous and dreadful contents, fire and sword spread its devastation far and wide, blood sprinkled the earth, terminating the power and reign of the aristocracy of birth. But what was the result? A common thing in the affairs of men; -they cut off the second head of the monster dragon, but the third grew out of it instantly. In the intoxication of success, nations shouted the peal of joy-but for how long? The cold consideration of speculators stooped, silently and slowly, to moments of ardour, zeal, and sacrifice; they agreed to all democratical rules and regulations; they put even the Phrygian liberal caps on their heads, but they quietly and silently got hold of the pockets of mankind, and sticking to them like leeches, they sucked their profits—they fattened themselves, and grew both stronger and more numerous.

The aristocracy of birth fell down—the parchments of birth and privileges were burnt—the shields of princes and knights were destroyed—the coats-of-arms were crushed—the pompous fetes of the eastles and mansions disappeared; but, slowly and quietly the aristocracy of money arose! Mankind overlooked and forgot the guilds with their 5 per cent, and instead of coats-of-arms, parchments, primogenitures, and castles, they have bills, discounts, monopolies, and railways. And the present times are exactly like those of former ages, only forms and names are changed; for there is the same distress, starvation, wars-the same outbreaks, and as many claims, petitions, and proposals for redress. Although Christianity was introduced to improve man's condition-eighteen centuries have rolled away, and the condition of the Assyrian slave of primitive ages under the aristocracy of rank, of the European slave of the middle ages, under the aristocracy of birth; and of the serf of Russia, the peasant of Poland, the working-man of England, and of the Irish labourer in the present day, under the aristocracy of money, is exactly alike. The aristocracy of money is ten times worse than the others, for a noble by birth spent his money freely and stately, and lavished it bountifully around: arts, trade and professions were in full employment, and the people did not starve by wholesale;—but the aristocracy of money keeps it covetously, lays

out their capital upon percentage; with the interest of that percentage they speculate, and from the profits of the last percentage they live mean and stingy. As long as the aristocracy of birth existed, money had its proper value and secondary place, for no one could buy birth for money; but since the overthrow of that aristocracy, money came to the top, and it is now the means to purchase any thing whatsoever in this world, no matter whether the purchaser be an honest man or a rogue. Hence the misery of the world!

The present alarming general distress and discontent in every nation upon earth, manifests the crisis, and predicts a violent change. The past and the present are exactly the same—the same slavery—the same corruption! And why is it so? Why did the French Revolution of 1792 do no good? Because men never expected another tyranny to rise, and limited themselves to the emancipation of men, instead of their labour. And after fifty centuries of different reforms, men are brought to see and to feel that the liberty and independence of each man depends solely and entirely on the just protection, and proper remuneration of his labour; and so long as there shall be means left for one man to enrich himself at the expense of another, there is no chance for happiness; and liberty, independence, as well as equality in the eyes of the law, will be only a vain theme, a smoky puff-a deception! Moreover, men are brought to see and to feel that fine words, oratorical and pompous declamations, neither fatten nor feed men, and that every man wants his bread, and that such bread cannot be given to mankind by a pope, nor a czar, a sultan nor a king-nor by the French Opposition, nor by the English Whigs, nor the American Democracy -BUT BY A GOOD, RICH, WISE, AND WELL-SUPPORTED HOME GO-VERNMENT!!! Till the French Revolution, one class of men used force to make the other work; but since that time, they use money for the same purpose. The aristocracy of money hears the tocsin plainly, and must cease its turbulent and unjust reign.

Some aristocracy, however, mankind will and must have—let it therefore be the dignity due to the age and advancement of morals! Let the aristocracy of mind rule over the human race. Let not the kings or presidents of Europe be our iron rulers or tyrants; let them be our guardians, our fathers. Let the nobleminded governor speak to his people, not from behind his artil-

lery guns, or forest of lances and bayonets—not with the gory sword in his hand, but with an apostolic command, with the Bible in his hand, teaching his subjects their mutual love and duties—let him watch over the interests of all classes without distinction—protect all, console all, help and remunerate all in accordance to their station, abilities and rank, and such government will be quite capable to put an end to human miseries, and make heaven on earth to mankind.

But what is the state of Europe to-day? What are the European governments?

Russia, with sixty millions of her serfs and servile soldiery, dreaming of the conquest of the world with a Czar for her leader, who has a double head—that of her church and her politics—and knonts her body in one massive lump, and extirpates her slaves yearly by hundreds of thousands in his highway expeditions—Russia keeps the whole of society in awe, and lays her sixty millions as a putrified barrier to the expansion and progress of European civilization, morality and manners. Ready and anxious for any massacre, she ever more and more twines the iron yoke of slavery around her!

Turkey, buried in fanaticism and idolatry, following the example of her Mahometan Sultan, leads a Satrapian, lazy life. She has no share in European affairs, is careless of social progress, the cultivation of arts, or any other improvement; kills her years in insignificant squabbles and paltry wars with the neighbouring barbarians; and, feasting to the glory of her prophet Mahomet, remains a benumbed part of Europe, quite useless in the march of improvement.

Italy, composed of combustible little dominions, with volcanic eruptions now and then, with her dungeons full of imaginary victims, retires from civilization to barbarity, and the shadow of her gross ignorance eclipses the sunny days of her ancient glory. Split now as she is into small insignificant kingdoms and dukedoms, with princes who are only dupes of foreign grasping and unprincipled courts, without influential important representation, without influential government, with weak laws—she remains a cipher upon the scale of Continental affairs, and has no power nor means to weigh or interfere.

Germany is in the same position—divided into theatrical dukedoms, with the pompous exhibition of their little princes,

and enormous unnecessary expenditure for their maintenance, which sums collectively would make one tidy government—the richest in the world ;-all lies dependent upon the mercy and misgovernment of Prussia and Austria, and is a childish toy of cabinets constantly perplexed by their dexterity. neither power nor weight enough to influence or improve society, and makes another European cipher, useful only to make up the number of the intriguing powers. Italy and Germany show, from length of time, most violent symptoms to amalgamate under one strong and important government; but they are too feeble, too much harassed, and too much watched, to complete their tendency single-handed. Both these countries, with addition of the like insignificant Saxony, benumb and stupify central Europe, and will never be better if they remain in their present condition, than wondering gapers at political events, and powerful allies either to liberty or despotism.

Poland, that heart of Europe, ransacked to pieces, is now the field of most inhuman depravity, corruption of morals, and barbarous tyranny; with the necks of its 20,000,000 inhabitants exposed to the knives of assassins, encouraged and supported by the governments of Russia and Austria.

Austria, like Æsop's rook, covered with feathers plucked from different birds—tyrannizes over and fights her various provinces with each other's soldiers, and she has such a hard task to keep them together and in subjection, that she invents and resorts to the darkest and vilest ways and means to be able to keep herself in one lump. She thus Machiavelizes society with such monstrous tricks—which have made her so conspicuous for the last century, that the very remembrance and idea of them shudders the heart to its inmost recesses. What a disgrace to Europe! What a loss to society! What a barrier to social peace and improvement!

Prussia, nearly in a similar position, feeding upon rapine, clasps in her claws the prey she fetters; placed in a sad dilemma between hammer and anvil—has only a secondary influence, accompanied with danger; and amuses her good people—who begin to break the shell of ignorance, and to open the eyes of wisdom—with a modern farce of a constitution.

Sweden, having fallen fast asleep, dreams sweetly upon her granite, and considers the march of intellect and improvement of society only as the waking dreams of idle fancy!

Spain, monopolized market for human butchery, and the propagation of a foreign race, increases speedily her powder magazines; opens freely her graves to strangers, to be buried there; is a field of intrigues, cottery, and speculation; is left to the mercy of foreign policy, and proves what misery a nation must endure; what degradation it must bear, when it seeks the aid of strangers.

France, after a great military bravado under Napoleon, which finished that imperial Paris, knelt down before its once humbled enemy, dreams now upon her laurels reddened with human blood, and starts now and then to chant "la Marseillieuse." She chases her kings like naughty boys, without, however, any benefit to themselves or the world! She wastes her years in declamatory discussions, as if fine oratorical words could feed mankind's mortal bodies. She once more woke from her slumbers amidst thunders, yet if she will not emancipate labour, and devise plans for the constant employment and just reward of the people (who are the soil of every nation), her trees of liberty, so joyfully planted, will fade, and she must swim back to the ocean of human misery and storms of disorder.

England, having long, long ago opened her beliked ring, plays for the belt (offices), and the nation looks uncommonly satisfactorily, and watches and hurrals with deep interest, while Mr Tory and Mr Whig, with wonderful skill, exchange their mighty blows. She expands her sympathy liberally very far and wide; it runs as far as Rome and Jerusalem!! Her people seem to be very happy and very jolly, especially at the election revels; and sometimes, to show the extremity of "human passions," they walk in procession by thousands, and sing the songs of starvation! Her lovely sister is rather disorderly—learned English doctors decided that she is labouring under St Dominic's dance, and to relieve her fits, England sends her, most respectfully, a renowned surgeon, Mr Military, who intends to bleed her shortly!

As to the treaties between the European nations, they are worth no more than those promissary bills which are never intended to be honoured. The European kings, secretly united together in one powerful link, study and advocate their own self-interest, perfectly indifferent of what may be the position or condition of their country, as long as they have the gratification of their extravagant and often unreasonable desires. As to the

members of her senates, chambers, and parliaments, one cannot help thinking they look like a party of young students, who only meet to play a game at frolic-there is little sound sense in it, but plenty of wit and fun. As to commercial prosperity and peace, Europe is three centuries behind the foundation of Rome -she is nothing less than a hidden volcano, which constantly swells and gathers, with boisterous contents, at the different places of her horizon. As to the justice which is measured by one class of society to the other, Europe is now, as America was before her discovery—the right of the stronger is the best law-and each wolf eats his sheep. As to European politics. they are nothing less but a maddened fight of parties for office and good salary. All the present politicians are but conjurors, who fire the pistol with the left hand, and having drawn the whole public attention there, play their intended trick with the right. On the other hand, every proposed measure and improvement calls forth agonies of feelings, empty speeches, violent addresses, and all sophistry, cunning, and craft of lawyers. As to European laws, to paint them truly and shortly, they are so encumbered with legislative lawyers, that they are now one areat laburinth of difficulties, in which thousands of innocent victims, artfully entangled, do perish. They are the accumulation of cumbrous precedents, without codification - they are hills over hills, Alps over Alps, of superfluous and treacherous technicalities, involved in voluminous forms, without the generality of principle, or any principle whatsoever. The enormous expense and intricacy of all legal proceedings, are so manifest and claimant in our present century, that it is a disgrace equally to the intelligence, energy, and moral courage of all nations, who, one and all, with their eyes staring and wide open, agape and aghast at the enormity of this huge manifold iniquity, allow themselves to be bullied, gammoned, and cajoled, without one single nation's sincere effort or attempt to remove the pest. As to European governments, they are poor, and only think of enriching their private coffers, by union with monopolists, and secret commercial speculations, as if kings occupied merely the offices of common speculators! As to friendly relationship and amicable intercourse between the soi-disant European civilized Christian nations, one may look as well for a fraternity between the cat and the dog. In one word, the demoralization of manners, corruption of morals, irreligion, bribery at elections, swindlery in speculations, cheatery in laws, robbery in banking and monopolies, never arrived to such a pitch of no plus ultra perfection and practice, since the appearance of Christ, as in our present nineteenth century.

England and France, who boast of being at the van of civilization, give examples of horrors and crimes worthy of savages. They war unjustly abroad with half barbarians, to extort from them lands which they have no right to possess, and no means to keep, without taxing their poor, industrious inhabitants at home, and dispatching another part of them to die a premature death of yellow fever, and to cover with their unburied bones the wide and barren deserts. Instead of improving their former usurpations, by sending thither money, farmers, artizans, doctors, and learned men, they dispatch there the modern Dissenters to bamboozle barbarians with the new doctrines of Protestant mythology, split now into 148 different creeds!

The whole of Europe consists of thirty kingdoms, out of which twenty-five have no power nor voice, and are only the satellites necessary to the movement of the ponderous planets. The remaining five-France, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia—carry the lead, and divide Europe into Liberalism and Absolutism, and each side struggles to settle the question which shall be the master of the whole. So ranged and divided, between slaves and freemen, Europe sharpens eagerly her deadly weapons, and prepares for a mighty struggle. Is it to benefit mankind, or to improve and reform society? Alas! no! They only breathe with an indignant spite of each other, and the condition of both is equally miserable. The ignorant serfs of Russia. the peasants of Poland, the working-men of Austria and Prussia, live in utter ignorance, insensibility to comfort, and total indifference to any promotion in this world. They are kept strict under the lash. They look to their masters as benefactors -to their kings as earthly gods. Impressed from their infancy, they sincerely believe they are born to die slaves; and contented with their humiliated and servile existence, look only animally to their food; and having no farther feelings or ideas whatsoever, and never feeling hungry, live ten times more happy in that ignorant state, and their personal enjoyment is tenfold greater in comparison, than that of the civilized and free working-men of Western Europe, who are nothing else than the right down white slaves of their bankers and merchants. It is true they are

polished, instructed, and emancipated, but this only opens their eyes wider. They see all the pleasures and luxuries of this world, their improved condition places them on the road to obtain it, but they are so overpowered with the burden of labour, and overnumbered hours of employment, besides hunger and thirst, that fainting and starving by thousands, they cannot pursue the path artfully gilded for them as their path! and living and dying in misery, they see and feel with the utmost agony the wretchedness and nothingness of their condition. Thus the European slave is more favourably placed than the freeman; the first is the happy brute—the second the civilized wretch.

The mutual antagonism and diametrically opposite principles, opinions, and dealings between the Liberalists and Absolutists, The Liberal party ought should be the last lesson to mankind. to command their utmost vigilance and precaution; for, till this time, the aristocracy of money wanted a head, but Nicholas of Russia, throwing One Hundred and Fifty Millions into the guild, put the treble tiara of bankers on his head! The aristocracy of money thundered a vivat, and drank the health of the hero, and Rothschild grew pale, and his tiara faded! Nicholas now has European labour and its production, he has all the commerce and all the bankers in his hand, and one single twink of his finger in St Peterburg will stop the whole machinery of his empire, and twirl back the wheels of the whole of society! and the plebeian working-men of Europe may now gnash their teeth, and feel gnawing in their bellies, for they are those who must pay their governments' debts, which rolls smoothly into the imperial coffers of the Russian Magog, and European hard labour strengthens the nerves of the icy giant! Besides that, the railways in Russia and Poland are the property of government, and the disposal of shares is limited to a certain number of years, thus preparing immense treasures for the czar, who is cunningly watching an opportunity for an assault. Besides all this, he has discovered the new mines of gold in the Ural mountains. What a dull future prospect to European society!

How saddens the thought! how sinks the mind! how thrills the heart! at the very idea, that the happiness and comfort of 300,000,000 of European men may be rent asunder by thunders escaping from the Northern Den. How painful the recollection of so many centuries rolled away blotted with reformations' blood, when we think that European society is no more free from

dread and mournful expectation, than when in its primitive infancy of barbarity.

Eighteen centuries lie prostrate, sullied, and abused, at the foot of Europe, warning it of the frailty of human aspirations. After so many reformations, there is as yet no sound reform,—after so many wars, there is no chance of peace. Nations have no certainty for their boundaries. With so many boasted learned men, there are no just, no proper laws, but only misery and distress, equal to that of the primitive ages.

Christianity was introduced for the purpose of uniting all races of men,-to erase the bitterness of nationalities, and to bind in one holy link of fraternity, all branches of mankind; but it is now torn into many sects, whose differences to-day serve no more purpose than the fables of Æsop, and are only made the ground for a squabble, or a passport to office. Rome, once master of the whole world, raised her holy head, and stretched her heavenly mantle to enfold, unite, and bless mankind. Yet, alas!-holy men performed ungodly work, for men are always men, weak and vicious beings, ready to rebel against heaven itself, worms that rot the holiest foundations of society, only submissive and obedient to the enforcing laws, without which to-day men would be only refined brutes. Rome once might have had united all mankind under one canopy of heaven, bound them with one feeling of virtue and justice, built only one church, whose pillars were to be all nations; but the misbehaviour of its representatives encouraged the misbehaviour of its misrepresentatives. There was a time for it,—but now 'tis all too late, and since the downfall of the Roman Catholic Church, nothing in the world will unite mankind together, but wise laws!

Freemasonry was the next attempt, but, like all human attempts, it proved a failure; for its basis had no principle. Money opens the gates to all grades, independent of all other qualifications of individuals. The present European freemasons, with their apish grimaces, and aprons (which they should wear on their faces, to hide them), call themselves "masons!" What have they built? The dungeons in Russia, Poland, Austria,—the poor-houses and human pig-sties in France, England and Ireland, for their brother freemen to live in. Their charitable meetings end by a good dinner, with plenty of grog and cigars, and the acceptance of the new brother (or bother), by the lodge, is a most ridiculous, boyish, blind-man's-buff play. Such a society

can never unite mankind, though they might carry their pranks so far, as to draw men together for general fun.

Nothing, therefore, will unite mankind now, except moral, virtuous, just, and rigorous laws; nothing will fraternise them but good and sound education. To be moral, virtuous and just, man must be independent by his industry, labour, or talent; but these are just the very coins which have no value whatever at present in the eyes of society. To be educated well and properly, man must be trained, like plants and animals, whilst young; but out of one hundred European children, not ten have the chance of this. The present system of education is unsound and artificial, imbuing only the young minds with so many different religious, political and economical prejudices and errors.

There was a time when mankind anticipated a general reunion of brotherhood under Napoleon; who ought to have given constitutions and laws to the kingdoms he conquered, and called such nations to elect new kings congenial to their own views, and the spirit of those times. He ought to have sought their friendship and love, not their dread and humiliation. Europe would have been to-day in a quite different position. He would have been the first man after Christ; for what Christ advised, he might have enforced upon mankind. But he, no better than Louis Philippe, played the game of a speculator, to promote his family to rank and fortune; and, whilst the first became an outcast of Elbe and St Helena, the second became a beggar of Albion. They were both political bankrupts, unfortunately at the expense of human lives and money.

The whole European nations are one great society; they are as a large 300,000,000 housed town, and the fire set to one end of the suburbs, must affect all the town. A failure of one of its rich manufacturers, throws thousands upon the charity of others. A bad state of health at one end, stretches and expands to the other. The injustice practised upon one part, besides being a bad example, awakes the sympathy and revenge of others. Every town must be governed properly, and for that purpose each European town has its corporation, and its head; and whether his name is Provost, Mayor, Burgomaster, or Governor, he forms the concentration and representation of existing power, to regulate and maintain order. Such towns must be regulated by a supreme power from the metropolis, otherwise there will be no order, and towns would never agree. So the nations must have

one to lead them morally, one to devise a system of government, and to prove it to be worthy of imitation. A leader who would not rule nor tyrannize, but advise, model, and show example to the others. Only under such a sway will the nations enjoy peace, harmony, security of property, and prosperity of commerce. Otherwise, if under the sway of governments that are unaccountable for their proceedings, left to their own whims and propensities, whether they are under the control of a consul or president, of a king or a czar, they will produce no fruits, no improvement to society nor to themselves;—for no man is perfect, and the ambition, pride, ignorance, or cruelty of a leader may involve millions in ruin, especially when the leaders have, as until now, the right by primogeniture, not to advise or discuss, but to order, to command, and to enforce their will.

That 300,000,000 of Europeans should bow their necks to the yoke and chains of half-a-dozen of crowned heads, entirely unbound by the statute laws of those millions, whom they depress most unmercifully, is really an astonishing fact. Christians laugh heartily at the Jews for believing the forthcoming of a Messiah,—but forget that Jews, in spite of the most horrible tortures, extirpations and persecutions for eighteen centuries, form yet an exiled nation, and not only amass the greatest riches in every country, but so well support their nationality and their race, that their scattered nation should be a holy lesson to such weak-minded and unprincipled undertakers as attempt to uproot their race. Where now are Carthagenians, Macedonians, Phænicians, Romans? All devoured by time; all gone and disappeared, save Jews. The Jews are the most reasonable people on earth, for they expect Messiah, and Messiah shall come.

Every sensible and reasonable man, that can expand his feelings beyond his family circle, and stretch his views beyond the walls of his native town, must be of this opinion; for the expected Messiah is nothing less or more than a mortal man, who, raising himself above the ordinary and beaten tract of mankind, above the ignorance and vulgarity of his age, will give just and virtuous laws to all nations without exception, and afford them an opportunity to claim and obtain their proper and necessary rights, settlement and political existence. No reasonable man expects now-a-days that Messiah will come down from heaven on his wings, for wonders have ceased; but all Europe, nay mankind, look now eagerly for a man that will rub off the head

of a serpent. The present cruel governments of Europe are this serpent, which glides smoothly around the whole of society, and stings it bitterly. Napoleon might have been that Messiah, but his good fortune, vanity and pride, blinded him so much, that rising up to the rank of an immortal divinity, he went a wrong roundle of a ladder, which broke, and threw him down into the midst of an ocean! Yet Napoleon is not the last nor the best of men. He had genius, but no feeling. Some have feeling, but no genius: but the world must expect a man who, conjointly with virtuous heart and mighty genius, will redeem now suffering mankind from all tyranny. Such a junction of qualities are rare in the annals of human history; but it will yet happen, and no one can foresee whether the present convulsions of Europe will not produce a virtuous genius—a Messiah.

All eyes are turned now to France. The whole of society devour the news, as a hungry man devours his meals after hard labour and long fasting. This is the best sign that Europe is hungry for good news. France had never a better opportunity to redeem mankind from slavery, to crush the rusty fundaments of society, and replace them with a granitary basis—the emancipation of labour. This would be a reform worthy of the age. But they must proceed slowly, and create helpers to such a holy work; taking plenty of time for elementary changes, for rapidly effected innovations may cause the whole structure to fall upon their heads. They must preserve peace, and maintain it, for sea gulls feed in storms. The increase of the treasury, and employment to all, is a great and difficult task, and requires the wisest plans. The army should be doubled, and so arranged, that half of it should be employed as artizans and labourers for the first year, the other half for the second, and so on; and the whole be so drilled and skilful, as to be ready to arm at one day's notice. The laws must be strictly revised and improved—misery redressed -employment with just reward provided-and the pockets of a so enriched and comforted people will be the best treasury.

France must prove that her Republican government is wiser than, and superior to, the Royal one—such proof must be visible in its immediate effects. Two or three years will be sufficient to sharpen the taste of Europe for a change; and emissaries dispatched wisely, would first stir up, and organize, and afterwards revolutionise the whole of Poland, Germany and Italy, into three most powerful and stupendous European republics. A few

clever men, with a little expense, would this way do more good than thousands of soldiers, and millions of money. Then the redemption of mankind will be accomplished! Four European energetic, wise, and brave republics, would not only have sufficient weight in the reformation of society, but they would be the first four protecting pillars, around which others would rise suddenly to finish the temple of liberty.

The present state of society is a horror and a disgrace to mankind. The most predominating and humiliating ease, spite of centuries of disturbances, thousands of revolutions, and torrents of human blood, is not settled yet; for where is the people that could name for certainty its national limits? Ireland may rise and fall at any day, France may be conquered yet, Spain may be divided, Austria may break to pieces, Prussia may increase or diminish, Poland will rise any day—any century, Russia may yet swallow Europe, and then burst to atoms! Where is the nation that can boast to be able to maintain everlasting peace, without being embroiled in a degrading war or home carnage? None!

Omitting a thousand other religious, political, and commercial atrocities, committed daily within society, let us examine the most touching and most interesting point,—the comfort of a human individual!

Taking the average of mankind, over all the world, not the tenth part are in the possession of plenty or comfort; and although this earth is sufficient to provide comfort, nay luxury, for ninety billions of human beings, yet alas! out of its only nine billions, there are eight billions whose lives are nought but a long range of misery, want, hard labour, disappointment, and sickness, over which, like upon angled planks, they are doomed to paddle from their cradle to their coffin; and although men have formed to themselves, by assidnous labour, and a hard struggle, and at the expense of enormous sums of gold and human lives, many different heavens and gods,-although there is a great deal of talking, and praising of the beauties of heaven, eight out of nine millions of human beings suffer, during the whole time of their existence, a complete and downright hell upon earth! That such is the case, no one can deny, and, to be perfectly impartial, let us ask a Chinee, a Turk, a Negro, or Indian, a Russian, or Englishman, whether the great God he worships has ordained that nine men out of ten in his country, should be

doomed for ever and ever to labour hard, and to exercise their wits all their slavish lives (dependent upon the caprice of others), in order to be able to feed, comfort, cherish, and amuse the remaining tenth part. Such, however, is the case, and such is the most extraordinary TITHE which mankind has willingly settled every year, for upwards of fifty centuries.

Such a state of society is unnatural. It is a wholesale tyranny, which revolts the heart, and exhausts the patience, and the whole of human society begin to look for redress. Are kings and ministers apostles by the will of Heaven, and executioners of its holy will?—They should sprinkle bliss, comfort, harmony, and peace, and be men's angel-like helpers and guardians. But they are not!—for they have made a hell of earth, and, like drunken evil spirits, intoxicated with good luck and success, they revel upon human sweat and blood. The morning star of European liberty rose amidst thunders, and wavers already on her horizon, and the sun of salvation and human redemption shall soon follow to shine upon the earthly heaven!

HEAVEN UPON EARTH.

"Every turtle thinks that the little pond it lives in is the whole world."

Ye men! who, barricaded long enough in your happy homes, by your children, wives, and relatives, you have dwelt enough in the limited boundaries of various self-pursuits and motives. Wake for a moment from your slumbers! Raise your thoughts to the boundless fields of humanity! Call your feelings and command your sense! Let the wings of your fancy raise you for a moment above this earth, and from thence watch, with the eye of the sun, and penetrate into the numberless recesses of the See the enormous riches locked up in her grateful bosom! See her outward appearance, her surface covered with most delicious and refreshing delicacies, appearing like a planet of flowers. Consider how men, for fifty centuries, like assassins, do split her diamond arteries and golden veins, and suck her unexhausted riches with the avidity of hungry bears, all for their comfort and happiness. See those boundless unploughed, yet rich lands, and think how many more millions might live happy and comfortable upon them! What numbers of creatures of the air, earth, and sea, do not fall yearly by the skill of the captor. See how the earth, that fond lover of mankind, forces herself to please, to satisfy, and bless them! Though men, armed with iron, skim the cream of her delicacies, yet she smilingly reproduces them eternally. You will think those men are the lords of the creation. You will think they have an angel's lot,—that the earth is their recompense, their paradise, their heaven. But, ah! examine into what a polluted state is the whole of society prostrated! How in the ocean of misery and distress all mankind swim for ages. How they tear each

other unmercifully for their thoughts of heaven! What language they use to each other! How they fight for colours with which they painted their breasts! How violently they struggle and snatch from each other the abundant gifts of nature, given to them all gratis! Into what a number of insignificant heaps they have divided themselves! how angry they look, how jealous they breathe! what a number of banners they unfold, and from underneath them, what a volcano of words, what a hurricane of deadly balls fly out to shorten their insignificant, limited existence! What a dreadful number of them are yearly murdered! how numberless are those who starve! how they quarrel, fight, and kill each other, even when belonging to the same nation; and how the whole of mankind live uneasy and fidgety, like a parcel of senseless monkeys, constantly fighting for their gilded apples, already so much sullied with tears and blood, which they pass from hand to hand, from generation to generation, to no purpose, no end!

'Tis madness, 'tis destruction and horror! Mournful grief and heart-rending sorrow sting painfully the very recesses of our hearts, and wake our bitter vision. We are brought back to the spot of our momentary pilgrimage, to see men's worthlessness and our own nothingness. Let outraged mankind, then, stand before our eyes, as an awful ghost crying for help and assistance; and let our hearts and minds contribute as much as

they can to mankind's redemption.

Surely, such is not the destiny of man! With an intellect that carries him to the midst of heaven, and enables him to discover the unrevealed secrets of the starry system, and tell their rotation.—with unexhausted elements and treasures at his command, with tenderest heart, and above all, with his immortal soul.—man is not born to suffer! No!—his intellect, his powers, were not given to him to pollute, to sully, and disgrace this holy. this magnanimous globe; that one part of men on it should exclusively enjoy the pleasures of material heaven, and condemn the other, tenfold predominant in numbers, to suffer misery, degradation, and material hell; but that divine intellect, as well as immortality of soul, was given to all, to make of it a paradise—a heaven. This truth society already perceives, and ere long this earth shall be a heaven to all mankind, without exception, and though the prejudices of ages have grown so old, that they sink their long thorny roots into the very centre of

the earth,—the intellect of man will snatch them with his mighty grasp, and tear them out from the entrails of the earth, even were it to split this globe in two!

WHAT IS NOW HEAVEN?

Heaven is a spot of holy retirement, perfectfully free from whatsoever vexes and harasses—the recompense of virtue—the enjoyment of eternal peace, and everlasting bliss.

It is so *spiritually*, it must be therefore so *materially*. Our notions of heaven are impressed upon our minds by ecclesiastical doctors, as a perfection and sublimity of love, unity and happiness; as a complete and finished pattern to imitate, as a sole and only good at which all men, without exception, are to aim.

This holy parable, however, was long misunderstood by mankind, who, instead of realizing a sacred notion, only strayed about it fancifully, and in their delirium, they only wandered in vain pursuit of it, catching always a shadow. Thus the Chinee, the Turk, the Hindoo, the Christian, have each built for themselves different temples, and paved diametrically opposite roads to them.

To suppose for a moment that man, with the mighty power of his intellect, and sensible of his superiority to the beasts that perish—with inexhaustible elements for luxury—suspended in the midst of heaven—and, above all, possessed of an immortal soul—was created by the Great God to suffer, is preposterous and absurd; for it is to ascribe to Him cruelty. God has given the earth for man's material use, comfort, and happiness; he has lavished upon him bountifully the capacity to make of earth a material heaven, and for the pattern, he has revealed to him the spiritual heaven! Such is his will, and such shall be done.

Spiritual heaven is for his immortal soul's everlasting comfort;—material heaven, for his mortal body's temporary comfort and enjoyment. They must both resemble, and they do. The material heaven of man ought to be,

1st, His home, his house, a holy spot of retirement, perfectly free from whatsoever veres and harasses.

2d, A recompense for his virtue, or a righteous and proper station in society, in accordance with his honourable ways and means, and from which no one could turn him out.

3d, An enjoyment of eternal peace, which he only can obtain

through the means and by the power of righteous and learned LAWS!

4th, Everlasting bliss, which is an uninterrupted success of all his honourable and industrious undertakings; and a constant, unfailing increase of his gains, to which his labour, talents, and righteous dealings entitle him.

HEAVEN ON EARTH.

Those infants who, when born, find all necessaries ready to meet their unavoidable exigencies; when every proper care is used to ensure their comfort, to maintain their health, to warrant their cleanliness; when such providings continue; when they have some one to watch and nurse their infancy for five or six years—such children are in the real enjoyment of bliss—of material heaven on earth.

All children, who, in their stormy, unreasonable, and weak infancy, are provided with good examples of morality, with good resources for instruction; when proper lessons nourish their minds, with good and healthy food for their bodies; when cleanliness attends them daily, they grow moral and virtuous,—advance in civilization, develope their moral, and fortify their physical powers,—learn decency and elegance, and acquire the beauties of the heart. They are respected, prized, rewarded, and loved; they see and feel the benefit and beauty of social arrangements: all such children are in the true enjoyment of materiality, which makes earth heaven to them.

If to those in the prime of youth, society is painted in all its true colours, and all its branches properly explained, they will prepare to join one of them, and assiduously devote themselves to their future occupation. They have a chance to assume a complete perfection, for the cares and the pleasures of the world are yet strangers to them. They emulate others, and strive for supremacy, for their talents and abilities, well cultivated, shall be the key to the coffers of future treasures. When they are at last freed from scholarship, they enter society—they minutely examine the structure and guiding principles of that society, and their future conduct receives a propelling power to good or evil, according to the actions of those who surround them. If their talents, eleverness or labour, are the foundation and guarantee of their future earnings; if they can make themselves independent of the whims or caprice of others, their youth and manhood

are the enjoyment of heaven on earth. That enjoyment they begin to appreciate, that bliss they begin to conceive and to feel in all its charming splendour, when social arrangements assure them that there is a chance of gaining a plentiful and honourable maintenance,—that there is a chance of promotion and rank, by means of virtue and industry. They will thus not only strengthen their virtue and their talents, but pass their days free from torments and fears, in a blessed contentment of perfect satisfaction; they will properly direct their laudable desire of gradual advancement; they will be useful and honest members of society, and be in the perfect enjoyment of heaven on earth.

In the time of ripened manhood, men who can choose for their companions for life, reasonable, sensible, and cleanly womenwomen who can talk little, but think much; well educated and brought up; who could amuse them with their literary talents or music, in the hours of leisure or of melancholy, and comfort them by the orderly and clean maintenance of the house, and the perfect superintendence of the kitchen. If, after the worldly trials or disappointments of their office, they can find a soothing balm, in the sweet look and meek voice of their patiently-waiting wives, whose manners and dealings are all directed to please them. If the men in return are ever ready to bestow upon the fair sex, those little insignificant trifles, which adorn their beauty, and please their fancy—then such men are in the enjoyment of heavenly bliss on earth! It requires but a little to awake a woman's hatred, but to gain her love it costs a great deal of trouble. Yet, fortune may frown, the world may sneer, society may repulse, but a loving wife will always smile-will always support! The enemy may bleed—the foe may sting, but a loving wife will ever soothe. And, after all disappointments, vexation, want, and misery of this world, what a heavenly comfort is an educated and well brought up woman, as a companion and friend of man's transient life?

In advanced age, all fathers of a family, who feel that they can give their children a thoroughly good education, who can see the sure chance in society for their future comfortable and respectable maintenance, who can help them with necessaries to prosecute their studies, and can contribute to their amusement and pleasure; when such children are respected, admired, and promising, such fathers are in the enjoyment of heavenly feeling on

earth. If they, besides serving faithfully in their respective offices, know that no unworthy or unmerited personage will snatch an advance or increase of salary from before them—then they work with pleasure and with ardour, for they dread not the dissappointment or the ruin of the whole family—their occupation becomes to them a passion—a pleasure, for they see the blooming future, and watch the growth and ripening of their labour;—then, and only then, their avocation is a pleasure, and the feeling of satisfaction spreads itself powerfully, and, overwhelming such men with heavenly contentment, contributes to make a heaven on earth.

In old age, when nature is worn out and decayed, those who can glance at their families respectably and comfortably settled, with bright prospects before them, no more in need of parental support or protection, but all willing and happy to contribute to their parents' comfort, by useful gifts presented with sweetness and galantry-blessed are those! who, after scores of years of virtuous and exemplary conduct and labour in office, see the recompense falling upon them in drops of half or full pay, like dew to refresh and cheer their languid old ages-then, new sentiments play within their hearts, and prolong the continuance of heavenly impressions, which are the cause and the result of heavenly satisfaction. The lives of such men are but the delicious panorama of those events they desired, and the scenes of the most brilliant hues, the recollection of which is like a fountain of crystal water after a scorching day's journey to the thirsty pilgrim. As far as the memory of such men can carry them back, they delight in the examination of the past; for, from childhood to old age, society had sources enough to provide them with engagements, and justice enough to recompense them fully for it. Righteous laws protected them around, they were neither insulted nor outdone-imposed on, nor tormented; but led a happy, comfortable, and cheerful life. Both nature and men smiled on them, comforted them, and amused them, and this earth was a heaven to them.

HELL ON EARTH.

Those infants that, when born, embarass by their appearance those who shall have an additional expense in supporting them; when they find their necessaries scanty, which causes that

little care is taken of them, have little chance of comfort or good health. They must nurse themselves often, and although very young and senseless, they often show in their little countenances an expression of discomfort, for they feel the deficiency of their clothing, and would be often very glad of an addition to their food;—we thus presume that they do not feel quite heavenly—they suffer a little.

All those children who cannot be provided with good examples of morality, (too often the case in the present state of society,) run the risk to realise the proverb, that Ignorance, Poverty, and Crime, are three sisters, and generally walk together. If the provisions to nourish their minds are scarce, and those to nourish their body still scarcer, then they grow with no more morals or beauty than one could find in an onion! and stand in the rear of civilization, with stagnant minds and weak frames. Consequently they are shunned, disliked, often ill used. They do not care for others, as nobody cares for them; and we may easily suppose they do not feel as they were in heaven.

Next, when in the prime of their youth they know not what society is, nor what it means, they make no preparation to join it, except they are pushed forcibly out of home to seven years' apprenticeship, in some factory or low service, which occupation they very seldom like. They thus grow animally bigger and sillier, and care not for knowledge, which they see is of no use. They are treated slightingly, often with indignance or repugnance, and thus they begin to hate their fellow companions, and try to serve them reciprocally. Such is the only school they know any thing of, for the charity, or Sunday schools, are only a great nonsense, and have no charms for them. As a very little notice is taken of them at home, they learn morals and manners of their fellow-players. They know nothing of their own talents and cleverness, or of what use they may be to them, but instinctively begin to think how to get some job or other, to gain a little pocket-money, in order to improve their apparel, but more generally, to satisfy their hunger. They are obliged to engage themselves like horses, or other quadrupeds, to work and labour under any fool, in order to live better. They fight with many disappointments and obstructions, and begin to think how unhappy is their lot, and what a dreadful future stares them in the face,—often by accident out of employment, or having very poor parents, they feel want and misery, which they express by saying they

are "poor as a devil," this being the best manifestation that they must feel a kind of torment and suffering of hell on earth. So unprepared and uncultivated they grow, and they expect to rank in society, and so they do! and so we know!

Thus in the time of their ripened manhood, the social arrangements afford them no chance for plentiful and honourable maintenance. They are tools of private speculators and employers, to whom it is quite immaterial whether they are moral or vicious men, so long as they work like an ox. Uncertain of their place, they quake with fear, and dread every look of white massa as if he carried a Meduza's head, before whom they must stoop so low and so degradingly that they can be considered but as reptiles, creeping at the foot and mercy of their tyrant employer. What their feelings may be in such a state of life, every one may easily conceive,—it is far from a heavenly feeling.

In advanced age, all such men are doomed to plead for employment, out of which, without any reason, they may be displaced. Those others who may be fortunate enough, or be too clever in their business, to be thus slightly thwarted, have to share ultimately the same lot, for their thirty or forty, nay, fifty years of industrious or hard labour, cannot assure them, in the ease of illness, or when worn out by age, even a shilling a week Such men have thoughts and feelings, perhaps not very refined, yet very powerful,—such thoughts and feelings cannot but paint them only most powerful pictures of dark reality. All those who willingly engage to dig in the damp mines of earth, amidst a poisonous atmosphere, or engage in cleaning towns and houses from their nuisances, have plenty of pitch fires They have rightdown hell of it plentifully on Who would exchange situations with them? What do they claim from society? Glory, fame, honours, fortunes? Nay! only a morsel of bread sufficient to support their physical frames, and a clean room for rest. But society, in return for their sacrifice, places them below the most miserable brutes of creation; for no brute, however low and disgusting, is ever in want of food: this it may abundantly and daily devour from the bountiful hand of Nature, but a man, an intelligent man, with his immortal soul, born for heaven, must suffer, pine, fret, and grieve for his daily food! Oh! what a perversion, what an abuse of society! This creates a hell for them on earth, for Satan himself is not scientific enough to invent torments and mortifications.

equal to the agony and heart-rending feeling of a man without employment and without bread!

Next are all those who are beyond the reach of the universal and most delicions aim of every man,-those to whom the bond of matrimony, instead of ennobling their souls and inspiring their minds, is only a matter of personal affliction. Therefore, all those who have no chance to select for themselves a decent, clean, and well-educated female, as a life companion, but must run the risk of tying themselves to an ignorant she, whose unbarren head, armed with a swift tongue, is generally the cause of eternal disagreements,—such men, certainly, must not dream of any earthly peace or enjoyment. On the other hand, if the numerous additional expenses unavoidably attendant upon wedlock, are not within the reach of the men, who presume to protect their wives, sooner or later discontentment will burst with all the fury of a storm, and rage worse than that of the thundering clouds, and will encircle the household and the hearth, for the clouds of hatred are very troublesome, and yield with difficulty to the rays of the sun of friendship. Such men are unpleasantly situated, and their wives and children are so many tight screws, fixing them to particular localities, and entangling them with difficulties from which they cannot extricate themselves. Then all trials, like showers of hail, fall at once,-ill temper, enmity, spite, suspicion, jealousy, and restlessness, like dogs of hell, all bark and bite around, until they finish their victim. Insufficient resources or wages is the chief cause of such sufferings.

Then come the men who have served honourably and laboriously in their various duties, and now they see, though too late, that a most trifling circumstance or accident, nay, merely a caprice of some superior, throws them and their whole family into ruin and starvation. They are never sure of their place, they have no hope of receiving advancement, but are suspended upon the cobweb thread of some spider's merey or caprice. This is the corner-stone of immorality and bribery, which rises now so suddenly and so mountainously. Employments and avocations yield no pleasure, for they may never produce relieving fruit, and men grasp and gather as much as they can for the present, for they cannot foresee the future; and as many know well that they do not work for themselves, they only work that it may be said—the work is done. Such a state of things cannot implant any cheerful feeling, nor inspire the heart with a noble emotion.

On the contrary, the darkest fears and suspicions of foes, the bitterest presentiments of, perhaps, a miserable future, the consuming uncertainty of place, turns the heart, and scorches the mind, like the fires of hell, bellowed by the wretches who dry happiness by stratas.

All men who, in extreme old age, must look on their dearest relatives as a party of gipsies in society, plunged in misery or destitution, uneducated, demoralized, and often guilty; who, as parents, cannot even listen to the cry of their starving children, for the whole labour of their own lives did not produce even a periodical gratuitous daily loaf to satisfy their hunger, must decidedly feel perplexed and grieved. They, besides, may labour themselves under a severe illness or disease, as the result of their former hardship and fatiguing work, and now friendless, have even no means to provide a cure, and often are repulsed from medical assistance. Oh! what a gloomy picture to the divine intellect of men! what wretched consolation to the immortal soul!

Their whole life was a panorama of precipices and rocks, abounding with volatile, preying vultures, snatching up every sown seed; a struggle of dwarfs against giants, a long and weary passage amidst tempests and thunders. How often their whole lives have not a single sweet recollection of needed and prayed-for success. They spend their whole lives in industry and humiliation, aspire to nothing, claim nothing, humbly entreating for justice and remuneration, and although society had unexhausted resources, and mountains of codes and laws, they were tormented, imposed on, oppressed, hungry, needy, uncomfortable, and helpless! They had devoted their whole time and strength to the social service, and have left the fruits of their labour for others to enjoy. They had done all they could, yet society has done nothing for them; and now, languid and exhausted by age and misery, they sink into the grave and end their miserable existence! Nature and men frowned upon them. and shunned them; they had no pleasures, no joys; they had no recompense, no protection; they died friendless and poor, and this earth was a hell to them!

These are the two regions which mankind inhabit, and in which they pass their transient lives.

One portion of men, from their cradle to their grave, walk through the flowery meadows of comfort, and breathe the fra-

grant atmosphere of perfect liberty and enjoyment; they pass through enchanted scenes of harmony, elegance, and abundance -they count their days and hours by raptures and bliss, which run smoothly before them like a crystal and serene river, bordered with magnificent prospects, of which they have a full and free choice. Their lovely children, with angelic smiles, grow fair like the roses of Eden, and warble the songs of love and sweet caresses. Their wives, blooming in beauty like splendid lilies, charm the eyes and greet all the senses, and daily and hourly, like the echo of most harmonious passages upon the harp, their meek words bury the last dying notes in the very recesses of heart and mind, and swell them with heavenly joy. Pleasant employments stand open for their seizure, and their lucrative pensions clear the way to velveteen apartments and gardens of crystal fountains. The smiling future nourishes their lives. Their splendid and comfortable houses, the opulence within them, the charms of a family circle, the esteem of acquaintances, place them in the real enjoyment of heaven on earth.

The other part of men, from their cradle to their grave, tread rocky precipices, mountains of difficulties, and morasses of trouble. Hungry and thirsty they climb the barren mountain of hope, in vain pursuit of the temple of happiness, in blessed ignorance of their intellectual geography, which placed them on the wrong road, winding itself on the opposite side. They count their hours by hard unprofitable labour, their days by torments and sufferings. Their little children are in a pitiful position of comfort—they seem to look as if their condition needed more care and attention, and appear always as if they had just came from a long and fatiguing sea voyage. Their wives undergo many privations in respect to domestic comfort, and grieve in silence, or weep unnoticed. Their sweet and lovely countenances, which once looked as pure and delicate as the blooming white roses, look now as if elasped with ungrateful hand, and fade and tarnish under the pressure. Such men, farther, have only a chance for slavish employment, dependant upon the favour or caprice of a governor and sub-governor, of an inspector and subinspector, or a foreman or under-foreman, with no prospect of advancement in future. Their deficient salary or wages can but procure them insignificant and badly fitted-up huts, and holes, and under-cellars: dearness of provisions causes scantiness:

potatoes and oatmeal is all they procure from nature's countless delicacies. The torments of family difficulties, the quarrels arising from ignorance, the indifference and mortifying sharp scrutiny of acquaintances—scarcity of employment and paltry wages, finish the long range of mental uneasiness and unceasing physical turbulence, and make all such men suffer the real biterness of hell upon earth.

To change and improve the latter position, would be no great difficulty to men of reason and sense—but, unfortunately, the world abounds so much with foolish men, who resemble little turtles in their ponds, that the possibility of effecting a reformation seems all but impossible. Thus we must wait for another Napoleon—not a Napoleon the warrior, but a Napoleon the Sage, who will cross the mental Alps that divide heaven from hell. The proposed plan of this new expedition, will be found in the following treatises of this work. Till this time, all the Reform conquests were benefiting one class of society at the expense of the other—hence, all reforms required to be re-reformed, or sunk down in the gulph of time—but a reformation, benefiting all in proportion, and injuring none, will be perhaps more suitable for our selfish age!

From the heavenly region men fall into the region of hell, and from thence others rise to the heavenly one, and thus there is a constant flux and reflux in the third, which is the earthly purgatory, to purify sinners, who are unfortunately now-a-days extremely numerous. All men who presume or desire to understand more than the moral powers bestowed upon them permit, are sinners in presumption; all those who attempt to perform more than they have talents or capacity for, are sinners in vanity. All those who aspire to stations and ranks which they cannot conscientiously and properly fill, whilst in possession of them, are sinners in boldness and tyranny; all who overspeculate, and engage in too great outlays and undertakings, are sinners in avarice and rapacity. All who dare to take moral advantage of others, are sinners in treason; and those who take material ones are sinners in theft. All false friends and lovers are sinners in immorality. All those who suffer injustice, and yield their neeks patiently, like ignorant brutes, to the yoke of others, are sinners in ignorance,—they are brutes clad in human skin, outragers of the law of God. All such sinners must travel

over the stormy ocean of purgatory, either perfectly to purify, or entirely to corrupt themselves, and thus enter either one or

other of the regions predestinated for mankind!

The human race, from the first until now, tribed themselves in villages and towns, and thus every village and every town is a social circle, in which men will have their own God to worship, their own sun to stare at, their own stars to idolize, their own heroes to prize, and their own fools to laugh at. This is to satisfy their intellect, sentiments, ideas, and feelings; in one word, to gratify and satisfy their moral powers. But all men must have something to do, and something to eat—and they are again divided into villages and towns, to gratify and satisfy their physical cravings—and thus they will have again their god to worship—gold; their sun to stare at—shops; their stars to idolize—merchants and bankers; their heroes to prize—speculators and creditors; and their fools to laugh at—bankrupts.

Man may exist without feeding or cultivating his moral powers. Of this there are innumerable instances; but he cannot exist without cultivating and feeding his physical ones; of his not doing so, we have no instance whatever—thus, the physical machinery of man, or his material necessities, are before those of his moral machinery, or mental necessities. Hence, the child before he knows any thing of heaven, thrones, or elements, sucks his mother's breasts, and eats his bread, and that bread and that milk he will want all his life, and he must have it. All mankind were obliged to live and multiply like birds, animals and fishes; which beasts, more fortunate than men, without the interference of doctors, lawyers, or clergy, live and feed so well, that they are in far better physical condition than intellectual and immortal man, who are reduced to starvation by millions in every generation. They die of hunger by hundreds in every country, and although many appear to be very respectable and well off, they positively suffer the painful deprivation of substantial food, and live upon trash, of which a monkey would disdain to partake. That such is the fact, no one can deny, although there is room enough upon this earth for generations tenfold multiplied. Thus, the intellect given to man by God, and the unex-hausted riches of nature (for man eats every thing that grows,) are most shamefully abused.

The first, therefore, and most important law in every village and town, should be the protection of human life and comfort, and those who feed and comfort others by their hard labour, should not be permitted to starve for it in return. Whole fifty ages of struggles for different reformations have passed away. These may be considered as a long war against earthly evils, which always succeeded to rivet some chain or other, in each successive battle. And another fifty ages will pass away, and the same will be the case, the same social disorder, until the appearance of a Messiah,* who, with the moral power of a Messenger of Heaven, will rise like an Alpine giant, and with his club of cedar of Lebanon, will crush the wicked and ungodly, barricade the gates of earthly hell, and bury the wicked devils, to die, consumed by their own fires, and dissolved in their own boiling pitch of brimstone.

Emancipation of men's labour will be given by that Messiah—and his laws shall be wise laws! It is emancipation of labour, and not rank, or birth, or religion, or governments, that will make heaven on earth.

To make heaven on earth, every man without exception, but in accordance to his station, must be the real possessor of, and enjoy,

1st, A holy spot of retirement, perfectly free from whatsoever vexes and harasses.—His house comfortable and decent, in which no one should dare to disturb or annoy him. It should be comfortably filled with all necessaries, having clean and decent furniture, provided with periodical renewments, and the rent should be cheap to nothingness. To such an house he should be able to bring the fruits of his daily labour, sufficient to feed plentifully and clothe elegantly his little darlings, (who are the future generation,) varying in size, beauty, and price, it is true, but sufficient in regard to comfort and convenience. Full particulars, proving the possibility of such a plan, are explained in the treatise under the head "Building of houses."

2d, The recompense of virtue.—That every man, without exception, should have a proper and ascertained Station in society, according to his capacity and his behaviour:—That the labour of his whole life, which is every man's capital, should bring him sufficient interest in his old age or infirmity, to insure him the comforts he had been accustomed to: That from his employment or service, no human power should be able to displace him, on

^{*} That is, Anointed.

any account, save a conviction of crime, proved lawfully and publicly, yet without depriving him of the means to labour after the period of his correction; for labour is his capital; and it matters not for whom performed, and by whom paid: That the hours of employment should be so limited, as to leave plenty of time for private and secondary labour at home, to increase his income, or to devote to his mental improvement and private enjoyment. The payment for the labour should be so proportioned, that the greatest part of the profit of the manufactured article should go to the producer and labourer, and not to the speculator or the swindling Jew. From such a treble salary or wages, every man ought to be compelled to advance an insignificant sum every week, to be placed in the corporation's bank for savings, from which, after twenty years' accumulations, he might receive the half of his pay for life, whatever it might be; and after thirty years' labour, the whole pension or wages. Such a man would strive to be honest and good, for there is a recompense for the one, and a punishment for the other. The period of imprisonment would count nothing; besides, the law then would be at his back, to force him to be good. Then there will be no occasion for hypocritical and degrading charity; no occasion for gaols or poor-houses. Very extensive particulars, to prove the full possibility of such an arrangement, are presented

in the following treatise, under the title of "Employment."

3d, The enjoyment of peace.—That every man should be equally protected by the Laws of his village or town, in the case of annoyance. For whether a man is injured by a highwayman or a prince, he feels the injury equally. Men were not born to fight, to chase, or to eat each other; but they received from God a faculty, signalizing them from other animals, the ability to laugh, which is a symbol of joy and merriment, a symbol of peace, ordained so by heaven. For the establishment, therefore, of wise and just laws, every man should strive—they are his impregnable fortress against the army of malevolence. Every check, therefore, to the improvement of human laws, is a most savage tyranny upon the intellect of mankind, and the greatest disgrace to man's mind and heart. The obstruction to the modification and improvement of deficient laws,* are the wicked rapine of little devils, who live upon the quarrels and spoliation

^{*.} As for instance the game-laws.

of society, and solely prevent the settlement and enjoyment of peace amongst men. Mankind may exist a thousand centuries more, but unless they make just, virtuous and holy laws, like the Ten Commandments, which are the pattern of perfection, there shall be no peace amongst them,—never!—and in the year of 888,888, there will be the same squabbles, disorder, cheating and fighting, as is now in our unblessed year 1848.

4th, Everlasting bliss .- That every man, without distinction, should have a chance to enter into all kinds of honourable undertakings, and that the commercial laws should be so well regulated, as to make failure an impossibility, the birth of debtors null, and create facilities for the speedy disposal of goods; to fix the average profits of exchange, and be very severe with sporting debtors. This would be a great blessing to society in general, but to the individuals themselves in particular, as it would metamorphose wicked into honest men. The necessity for these improvements, and a plan for bringing them into practice (which is one of the most important questions in society, and the greatest puzzle to all statesmen), is solved in the treatise under "Employment." The establishment of wise and just commercial laws would insure the UNINTERRUPTED success of industry: and its constant success is one of the greatest blessings to men. To be successful, then, would be to be honest and virtuous, either through the force of principle or the force of law. But what secures success now? Generally man's cunning and his craft. It follows, in reason, that a man who constantly labours, and does not dissipate the fruits of his industry, ought to gather unceasingly his increases; that the deposits of his hard labour should be holy relies, untouchable by any other hand, but protected by the sanctuary of law. Such an augmentative and accumulated increase is another heavenly blessing to man, for it is his recompense, his key to comfort and indulgence, the realizing of his years' waking dreams; a honey balm for his cares and toils. But now, the savings of hundreds of men for years, are annihilated by a rogue in a single day; and be he the warrior, the monopolist, the banker, or the railway speculator, he is a rogue—an earthly devil, that burns the loser with lifelong fire, and never soothed sorrow and suffering. The establishment of proper commercial laws is indispensable; for if men were allowed to increase their riches, in accordance to their own

erroneous or prejudiced notions, all mankind would become thieves, like rooks; only it would be legalized, and with more refined superiority of manner.

So one day must the whole of society be regulated, for the great God has so ordained. In giving men all they could possibly desire and consume, he knew their wickedness and frailty, and gave them ten commandments, which are the law of Heaven, and enclose in their unpresuming few lines, more than the whole labyrinth of human reforms, all mountains of books, all rubbish of laws, and all puzzling long squabbles of ages. Mankind must be so arrayed, for where is the man in the whole creation, who is capable to build his own house, to make his own garments, to kill his own ox, to work his own machinery single-handed, or build a vessel himself? Who can make a lamp to light his darkness, and manufacture soap to clean his hands? O! ye weak men, see the wolf in the forest, the horse in the desert, the bear in the mountains of snow, born, bred, living, and mighty, without anybody's help or nursing! And look at your own defection and weakness. Is this not a proof that men are born and created to be dependent on each other's help and labour, and that they should respect each other's employment? All our observation teaches us that a man who works in a foundry or follows the plough, never wishes to play the guitar or dance the The prince who has great riches, never desires a pair of strong walking shoes, shod with iron; nor was there ever a peasant or mechanic dying for want of the order of the garter, nor a minister for a pint of ale. But every man has his own employment or occupation, and he has a right to expect the remuneration to be in accordance with his labour. To remunerate all equally would be ridiculous,-giving one too much, and another too little, would be injustice; but to give one more than he can want, and to others nothing, is tyranny. What would become of all men if they had nothing to do? They would become indolent and lazy animals. Labour, therefore, is mankind's greatest blessing, as it is most cheering and very pleasant, and the habit goes so far, and becomes so strong, that a mechanic choked with the smoke of a factory, would not exchange with the field labourer, breathing the perfumes of nature; nor would the preaching bishop exchange with the fighting general, nor would any innkeeper like to be a viear.

Every man is born with a treasure, of which the interest is to

maintain him. Such treasure is his talent to labour,—the interest is his station or employment in society. Every man, therefore, ought to have his house made holy, his virtue justly rewarded, in order to be able to make his home comfortable, and free from harassing cares. The laws should guarantee and offer him peace, and he should be helped to find uninterrupted employment, to afford him uninterrupted success in his labour, which should assure him an unfailing increase, in accordance to his ability.

To put society into such an orderly state as would make it assume the aspect of heaven, and make one large paradise of earth, is difficult just now, because the majority of men who have power in their hands, in consequence of their riches, are fools. This fact is evident, for there is not one nation upon the surface of the globe, that can boast of having a wise and righteous government, based upon proper and good laws. All present kings, without exception, are only crowned and privileged spendthrifts, yearning with the desire of self-aggrandisement; men generally without talent, often without good sense; puffed up with vanity, armed with injurious privileges,—ignorant, cruel, and entirely devoted to their noble selves. Their ministers and statesmen are unprincipled leaders of parties, and followers of their own interest, and are split into paltry cotteries to promote the views of their mercenary followers. All political parties are raging fighters for good offices and salaries, which stations they gain and fill without talent, sense, or principle; and serve themselves, not society. All lawyers are a monopolised company of impostors, whose intellects have only invented crimes hitherto unknown, for they dig their craft from an unexhaustible pit of perversion and darkness. All speculators are cheaters, living like drones upon the labour of others, and in order to undersell each other, they put millions to hard work, and then bundle them out in masses, like refuse, from their factories. They keep commerce in a furious flux and reflux, and labour is lost in their stormy waves of goods. Those speculators prevent the commercial intercourse between nations from being properly and steadily regulated. Soldiers are ignorant and abominable human brutes, selling their lives for a shilling a-day, to die the death of a bulldog, at the call of a tyrant or miscreant. All bankers are swindlers, who fall in periodical succession, and use the honourable earnings of virtuous and honest farmers and tradesmen, often to

most wicked purposes, but always to their own aggrandisement. All employed secretaries, clerks, and foremen, are downright white slaves of their merchants and bankers, from whom they receive the utmost contempt, and are lowered by them below Negro slaves. All labourers who work hard and long, and devote all their lives to it, and yet cannot sufficiently maintain their families, are ignorant sheep, left to the cunning of their shepherds; and when they are old, they are beggars, and a burden to society. Young children (future generations) receive no education whatever, and the voluntary, Sunday, charitable, and private schools, are only a humbug of intelligence. Towns are crowded with poor-houses and beggars by thousands. Gaols raise their iron heads as speedily as churches. In one word, the present refined and enlightened century is one of so much misery and discontent that it fitly represents a century of hell upon earth. Such are the fruits of a monied aristocracy. The above assertions are proved in detail, in the treatise of "Employment."

To reform a social fabric so corrupted, requires powers commensurate with the evil. But where is the nation that will take the lead? How are mankind to be convinced of the necessity of their being mutually interested and united in rising to break the hideous chains of slavery? Young trees will give way to any wind. for they have no standard force of their own, but old ones will rather break than bend. Yet one nation must rise from amongst the rest, whose inhabitants are matured in virtue, who feel themselves strong, good, wise, and enlightened enough to rise first. and lead others to salvation! But all nations are now a prev to domestic intrigues and party squabbles; not one of them have formed as yet a wise and virtuous government. King's patronise and encourage political and religious divisions and polemical struggles, for they enfeeble the strength of a nation, and keep it down, by disunion among themselves. But if any reformation raises its head suddenly, it electrifies all bankers, merchants, and speculators in every country, and frightens kings so dreadfully, that their first spasmodic cry is-Arm! Arm! and immediately government machines, composed of thousands of brutes in human form, move in all directions.

But, suddenly the morning star rose amidst thunders on the horizon of France,—and the sun of salvation shall reveal its holy face to liberate mankind, and brighten first over Poland! Yes,

over Poland! that harbinger of European liberty-with its Alexander in the ninth century (Boleslas), with its king of peasants in the thirteenth century (Casimir), its saviour of Christianity in the seventeenth century (Sobieski), its first constitution, proclaimed and revealed to mankind in the eighteenth century !-- over that European granary which, converted now into a cemetery, presents a mournful mass of the graves of martyrs to liberty—over that land, that centre of the Christianised world, upon whose stage were performed tragedies of crowned tyrants, that have no parallel in human history for disgraceful villany!—over that Poland, crucified upon European sceptres, with miserable Austria piercing her heart,* and Europe powerless and frightened with the thunders of a military despot. sanctioning the horrible crime, and disgracefully styling it a Holy Alliance, as if in sheer derision of Heaven. This work of hell was accomplished—and the whole east is now chained in slavery, and all Europe sunk low in misery and starvation, bleeding in all her political arteries, as a punishment for the treacherous murder of Poland!

The crucifixion was performed, the resurrection must follow, and the fulfilment of the Revelation of St John the Divine is at hand.

IT IS SAID :--

1. And the seventh angela poured out his vial into the air, and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.

2. And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great.º

3. And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent; and men blasphemed God, because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

4. And there came the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters;

5. With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.f

^{*} Cracow. 1. Rev. xvi. 17.

^{2.} Rev. xvi. 18. 3. Rev. xvi. 21. 4. Rev. xvii. 1.

Rev. xvii. 2.

a Freuch revolution.

b Vox populi vox dei.

[·] All European revolutions. d Failure of potatoes, and then banks.

e Tyranny and slavery. f Kings' usurped rights.

- 6. And upon her forehead is a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.h
- 7. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet-colour, and deeked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication.k
- 8. And here is the mind which has wisdom. The seven heads of the beast, on which the woman sitteth, are seven mountains.1
- 9. And the ten horns, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast."
- 10. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful.p
- 11. And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.
- 11. And he laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil the Satan, and bound him a thousand years.
- 12. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea."
- 13. And God shall wipe away all tears from men's eyes, and there shall be no more death, reither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away.
 - 14. And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new.
- 14. And showed me that great city, the Holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God."
- 15. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. First, Jasper; second, sapphire; third, chalcedony; fourth, emerald; fifth. sardonyx; sixth, sardius; seventh, chrysolyte; eighth, beryl; ninth, topaz; tenth, chrysoprasus; eleventh, jacinth; twelfth, amethyst.x
- 16. And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple of it.

^{6.} Rev. xvii. 5. 7. Rev. xvii. 4.

^{8.} Rev. xvii. 9.

^{9.} Rev. xvii. 12.

^{10.} Rev. xvii. 14. 11. Rev. xx. 1, 2.

^{12.} Rev. xxi. 1. 13. Rev. xxi. 4.

^{14.} Rev. xxi. 5. 10. 15. Rev. xxi. 19, 20.

^{16.} Rev. xxl. 22.

g Politics .- h Petersburgh .- I Dress of tyrants, emperors, &c., &c, &c. — & Pervertive laws and codes. — 1 Seven parts of the world—1, Europe; 2. Asia; 3. Africa; 4. South America; 5. North America; 6. Australia; 7. Independent Islands. —

Ten empires of earth. __ n Empires will end with tyranny. • Liberty. __ p Liberals. __ q One who will beat the armies.

The chain of a constitution binding all nations .cracy of money .- t Heaven on Earth, or Emancipation of labour. " The Sec of Rome .- " Abolition of armies and of wars.-

w The restoration of Jews to New Jerusalem, as by miracle, without war or dispute .- * The riches which Jews shall bring with them from twelve parts of the world .--- 7 The acknowledgment of one God over all mankind .- . Liberty.

17. And the city had no need of the sun, an neither of the moon, be to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamber is the light thereof.

18. And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

19. And, behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be!

"To give every man according as his work shall be" is to

EMANCIPATE HIS LABOUR.

To such a purpose men were created, and for such a purpose they have ten commandments. The Roman Catholic popes, as was already stated, had the power to accomplish it once, by building only one church to worship the one only God. The freemasons were next, who might have built only one temple to acknowledge the one only Architect. But all men are either wicked or vicious, and neither popes nor freemasons would or could be virtuous and moral themselves, although upon their virtue, morality, and good sense, depended the heavenly enjoyment of earth. All the popes proved hypocrites,—all the freemasons, fools.

The experience of fifty ages teaches us, that foolish and unjust laws, produce always foolish and unjust proceedings and dealings; and that wise and reasonable society must have wise and reasonable laws, which are to be formed yet, and for which the time has now fully arrived.

To attempt to spread civilization over mankind, sufficiently to open their eyes and dispel their darkness, is a mania, an Utopia, especially under the present systems of government, which are inimical to improvement. Even an attempt to civilize one single nation, so as to make it capable of understanding such a holy mission, as that of breaking the chains of human tyranny, is impossible; for men are naturally born jealous, vicious, and stupid, and should even angels attempt to build the godly edifice, men will pull it down. Besides, to provide such a nation with reasures and powers, sufficient to withstand the opposition and ignorance of the rest, is beyond human power,—but to invent a power that may surpass all presently existing forces, and to find

^{17.} Rev. xxi. 23. Emperers or kings.

^{18.} Rev. xxi. 27.

^{19.} Rev. xxii. 12. CLaws of freedom.

a few rich men, of virtue and good sense, and obtain their sanction and support, is a very probable thing, and a common inci-

dent in society.

The seventh vial is poured out! This Europe feels evidently. It began with the failure of the potato crop and fruits, as a hint to the unfeeling aristocracy of money, that upon the condition of the poor their happiness depends. They, however, laughed at, and scorned the wrath of heaven. Next followed massacres of that aristocracy in different parts of Europe, as in Gallicia in Poland, in Spain, in Ireland, till at last Heaven threw the insurrectionary thunders of revenge upon Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Milan, Rome, &c. &c. &c. But its strongest and most terrible thunderbolts have yet to burst over the whole of society.

Is this approaching carnage to be to the glory of God? No! For the benefit of society? No! It will be only a continuation of the deadly and long war with "that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan;" that great whore that sitteth upon many waters, arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls,—with that tyranny and its armed evils, the devils of earth, who have opened all the gates of hell, and strive to thrust the whole of mankind into it. But "thus far shalt thou go, and no further;" the last judgment is at hand,

-has already arrived.

He who will devise a plan to beat down artillery, will be the master of the whole. He will be able to put down pervertive armies, and end unjust wars. Upon the heaps of crushed guns, broken swords, and bayonets, Liberty and Happiness shall plant their olive banner. It is not, therefore, kings who will offer liberty to society, nor yet its popes nor generals, nor slavish armies, neither the treacherous masses, but a power of the divine intellect of man; an invention, a monstrous invention, which must strike with awe the whole human race, and make nations tremble with fear, as the leaves tremble in a hurricane!

Such power is now invented, and belongs to Poland! The redemption of that country will be the redemption of mankind. It needs not kings, nor generals, nor armies, nor masses, to help, but only a few,—a very few men of sense, virtue, and wisdom to light the torch of salvation. Now, ye chosen few, appear and decide!

It appears that, by the will of offended heaven, the invention

of an awful machine was left to a native of Warsaw, in the year 1840.*

The machine itself is of tremendous size, and may laugh at a few men-of-war. The power of steam is her force, requiring forty-four men to serve her. She will carry herself through the fields, and over small rivers, and needs no roads nor bridges. She will pass through gardens, or plantations of trees, bruising them, as well as small villages, and thus clearing the way for She will ascend and descend the inclinations of hills under the angle of 20 degrees, without stopping her speed, which, when slow, is fifty English miles per hour. The machine may be exposed the whole day to the cannonading of a thousand pieces of artillery, without being hurt in the least degree, and she can destroy an army of one million, in half a day. The power of that machine is so great, that the inventions of centuries will not be able to oppose it. The expense of its construction will amount to £400,000. To build another after one has been completed (unless unopposed), would be impossible, for, in a case of emergency, the machine could travel from St Petersburg to Paris in twenty-four hours.

An Englishman said, "Knowledge is power," another said, "Wealth is power"-but, knowledge without wealth creates misery; and wealth without knowledge creates tyranny. arrangements of social establishments could give wealth to learned men, and force the wealthy to have knowledge, all would be right. To accomplish this, requires the following reforms in society: The emancipation of labour, so as "to give every man according as his work shall be;"-to establish just and wise laws;-to settle once for all the limits of European nations; -to give them all freedom and sound constitutional governments, in accordance with the people's necessities, views, and desires,--which governments should be invested with the power to settle amicably future differences and claims between their respective nations. to dispense with, and disband entirely the various armies, and substitute for them national guards and treble police,-to facilitate and expand commercial intercourse,—to spread arts and sciences, as well as common sense, far and wide, -- to afford bliss comfort, and plenty to all men without exception, but in accordance with their different stations and employments. In one word, to make a Heaven on earth, (which arrangement of so-

^{*} It was named at the time to a citizen in the town of Leicester.

ciety has been the greatest puzzle to ministers and lawgivers for fifty centuries,) requires only a few wise men.

Napoleon laid a very heavy charge upon Europe. He said, "In Greece there were seven sages, but I cannot find one in all Europe."

I make now my appeal to all nations without distinction, and particularly to the Poles, who should be interested in it most. I solicit them to come forward, and upon the ruins of vicious tyranny, to raise an altar to virtuous liberty;—to decide the redemption of mankind, and stretch their helping hand to a Christian and good work. And if my proposal and appeal shall remain unanswered, Europe will certify Napoleon's verdict!

A loan, therefore, of £400,000 for the immediate restoration of

Poland, is respectfully proposed.

Europe, having crushed the chains that rivet Poland, should proclaim long-unhappy Warsaw the altar of human liberty—and around its pedestal, she should convoke the general congress of all European kings and presidents, to meet and sit upon the graves of fallen heroes and martyrs to liberty and Christianity. There, in the presence of heaven and mankind, they should swear their union—fraternity, love, and eternal peace, as well as a solemn oath to adhere strictly to the constitutions and laws made then, and presented to them by the respective representatives of Upon that cemetery of innocent victims to their countries. tyranny, Europe, repentant of her sins, should proclaim the final end of war-the abolition of armies,-and settle for ever the boundaries of European nations. As a proof of sincerity and truth, the return of all Jews to Jerusalem should be announced and performed, and a divine service and thanksgiving to the glory of ONE over all, the Almighty God, solemnly performed.

To effect this, what is required?

On	e man who could	lend to	the Polish	cause, 4	2400,000
Or	Four men	,,	21	each	100,000
23	Eight men	,,	,,	,,	50,000
12	Sixteen men	,,	,,	,,	25,000
,,	Forty men	,,	,,	,,	10,000
,,	Four hundred	;;	,,	,,	1,000
,,	Four thousand		2.1	,,	100
"	Four hundred th	ousand	,,	,,	J

The money, with the name, to be forwarded to a metropolitan bank, from which a share will be issued in accordance to the amount. As soon as the whole sum is deposited, the shareholders will appoint a committee, who will choose an engineer, to whom the whole plans and secret shall be disclosed, and his opinion about the matter expressed to the committee. On the plans being found perfect, the engineer to be bound to begin the construction of the machine.

The loan to be made for one year, and repaid at its expiration. Every shareholder of £100 will be entitled to a landed property in Poland, amounting to £50 yearly for life—to be paid by the future government of Poland—and a very nice colony of 4000 foreigners would be a great addition and benefit to that depopulated country, in which not only 4000, but 4000,000 men, of industrious habits would find employment and happiness. The same principle will be adapted to other shareholders, in proportion as their loans are below or above £100.

Ignorance may laugh—malice may scorn;—the opinion of the world is nothing to me. The invention is good; and all I need is the help of a few. Of friends and enemies, I am equally independent. The first never could assist me, the second never could injure me. Reward I seek not; I shall have it within me, for I wish ill to no one, but good to all.

As there is a probability that Poland may once more enjoy its free existence, considering her present deplorable condition, in which every thing is wanted,—I propose certain social arrangements, and submit them to the consideration of men sound in judgment and virtue.

They are arranged thus in the following treatise:-

1st, Government.—Attempts to establish a perfect government applicable to any country, whether Monarchy, Republic or Duchy, for the benefit, happiness, and perfect satisfaction of all classes in society.—How such governments could avail themselves of enormous riches, beyond all calculation, will be shown next.

2d, EMPLOYMENT—which is the most important question of the age, and upon the regulation of which depends the future happiness or misery of all nations. I will attempt to show by what means the wages of the working-men of Europe may be trebled, the time of labour only eight hours per day, and yet the articles of labour sold a great deal cheaper than at present.—

Show how such working-men, as well as all other classes—clerks and those in higher stations, might and ought to receive half-pay after twenty, and full pay after thirty years' labour.—How to prevent the fallacy of banks, which periodically ruin thousands. How altered principles upon railways can enrich the national treasury, and how travelling may come to half-a-crown for a hundred miles—benefits of this.—How to improve commercial regulations, whose present deficiency is another cause of the ruin of thousands.—The security of commercial property.—How the government of any country, by threefold resources, may amass immense riches in the national funds.—The election of mayors and members of parliament upon different principles.

3d, The Building of Houses.—The imperfection of present houses. - Erroneous system of their construction - pernicious consequences resulting therefrom .- NEW PLAN .- How a working-man may have a house with six rooms, a kitchen, a bath, cellars, water-pump, gas, yard, and garden, very nicely furnished from cellar to garret, for the annual rent of only £5; with a dowery of a house of £25 every twenty years, for the reparation and alteration of each.-How a merchant can have a large house of fourteen rooms, and an elegant extensive shop, with gas, water, and all conveniences, completely furnished for £25 per annum, and £50 every twenty years for necessary improvements.—How a gentleman may have a house with 16 rooms, with a large garden in front and back, elegantly furnished, with £50 every twenty years for reparation, for the annual rent of £25— (outlines of the land, and plans of the houses, are adjoined to the treatise)—New arrangements of streets, markets, schools, public institutions, theatres, concert rooms, relief houses, bazaars, streetrailways, &c., &c., &c.-Abolition of minor taxes, and establishment of one universal tax for the support of government and the corporations—the enormous riches they would afford both to government and to each corporation, and the means they would afford both to employ, and reward liberally, millions of inhabitants.

4th, Education.—How a perfect education can be given to all children, without exception, in every town, gratis.—New arrangements of schools for boys and girls, upon a new principle, embracing their travelling abroad.—The security of teachers from the influence of the government, or private parties, or town

intrigue.—Religious education !—The beauties and benefit of

such an educational system to society.

5th, Marriage.—How the misery of matrimony can be utterly annulled, and complete bliss introduced in its place, in every rank of society.—Landladies of lodging-houses.—Position of servant girls.—The monstrous degradation in which many women are brought up in society—entire redress proposed.

6th, Abolition of Armies—as the only way to secure peace;

-national guards-police, &c., &c., &c.

Such are the proposals of Reformation to the Polish society, and such, perhaps, may be followed by other nations as well.

My ideas and plans about the Reform of Society, are only suggested to the consideration of those who would and might consider such plans; they are only a secondary matter; the first and prime object is the *invention* for the immediate restoration of Poland; the settlement of European limits; the abolition of armies, and establishment of eternal peace! I advocate only my country's cause, which is to me all in all, simply because it is my own—it gave me birth; and any sacrifice and undertaking, even single-handed, I will attempt, though I should live upon dry seabiscuits, moistened with my bitter tears.

The present shakings of European society may end with the rise of Poland, without the existence of which Europe will never enjoy peace, for Poland is the point upon which the scales balancing despotism with liberalism are suspended; and hence lies the secret why many a wheel of the present machinery of society turns in the wrong direction, and thus destroys all the benefits anticipated. To prove this fact, many instances may be given, with respect to every nation, without exception. This would, however, expand the work with details known to everybody,—let therefore one instance suffice:—

What is the threefold dismemberment of Poland amongst its erowned neighbours, who had no right nor claim to it? What is the violation of the treaty of Vienna sworn by European ministers in the face of God and humanity? What is the incorporation of Cracow, in sheer derision of all European nations? It is a highway robbery,—which is going on wholesale with many other nations!—And what future comfort can Europe expect from such a state of things?

To remonstrate with the masses of the people is useless, for

they have neither minds to understand, nor time to consider. To remonstrate with the aristocracy of money, is likewise useless, for they have neither hearts that can feel, nor time to spare. But let us look around the horizon of Europe, and see whether there are not a few wise men upon it?

To think that 300,000,000 Europeans should submit to be penned in like cattle in the market, yield their lives and comfort to the caprice and whims of a few crowned butchers—should permit themselves to be sold and killed according to their slaughter tariff, and that, for the least attempt to improve their uncomfortable and dirty position, they should be directly and unmercifully bastinadoed and flogged—surpasses every conception and belief!
—'Tis madness!—'tis destruction!—Have ye no hearts? have ye no spirit? ye skeletons clad in human skin, "ye dogs or men, for I flatter you when I call ye dogs," wake from your brutish indifference, from your sloth; wake and see how the sublimest work of the great God,—intellectual, immortal men,—are perishing by fire, sword, and famine.

Ye ministers of God!—ye followers of Christ!—ye have souls and hearts to conceive the Creator, you must have souls and hearts to conceive his works and the human race. See its wretchedness and misery. Pray ye to heaven. Cry ye as Sodom and Gomorrah, and speed the judgment!—Come now in spirit and in faith to speed on the salvation—for "what you will untie on earth shall be untied in heaven." Untie, then, the chains of slavery, and open the gates of heaven on earth.—Assist to raise a power which will be exerted not to slaughter and oppress, but to bless and comfort mankind; for it is a tremendous power, that shall have no equal on earth;—a power which will not use its mighty thunders—but, like a lamb, its only sight will be a hallowed command to humanity.

Ye ministers of men! ye lawgivers of human society, you have rolled long enough in your insignificant circles of parties, whose noise dies away like a small rivulet that sinks silenced in the falls of Niagara, and is nothing in the sea of eternity,—spring now up to aid the cause of humanity, and help it willingly, with honour and glory, rather than be forced to yield to it with shame and remorse.

Ye men of fortune!—ye misers!—stop a while in your bright and joyous career—your butterfly prancing; look beneath you

and say, "Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners! what wretchedness and misery lie below us, and yet we laugh merrily and lend no helping hand." It is not your wealth, nor your titles, that suffering mankind requires, but only your good sense and reason. You have plenty, 'tis true, but you are not sure of it, and future generations may pay for their predecessors, with tenfold loss and vexation. Remember the flight of the French nobility in 1792, and the massacre of the Polish in 1847. Help now the mighty power, which will secure your joys and the safety of forthcoming generations.

Ye men of industry! who are often obliged to drink many a cup of bitter disappointment, think how much more bitter is the lot of those without whose assistance your labour and industry would vanish, as vanishes a proud over-laden vessel in the midst of the enraged sea. Help willingly the power that wishes to emancipate your labour and your talents, which, alas! are so often lost to your view, and to reward justly the hard labour of those innocent bees of society whose honey you suck. Remember that human bees have no provisions left for them to help them in their winter days. Human bees starve, and the hives of society stand empty. They receive fewer flowers and have their gardens limited; and the crops are more scanty, and the honey less sweet. They are good and industrious, profitable and necessary. Do not permit the malicious to scorch them with fire, or children to kill them, for bees will flock to another master; and, little as they are, they yet may sting you.

A fox strangling a goose is not so eruel as a man who torments and kills by degrees his bec—and the savage northern bear devouring a voracious wolf, is not so cruel as the generous western lion who starves his meek lambs. But the fox that strangles, and the man that torments,—the bear that devours, and the lion that starves, must all be rebuked, for the angels were rebuked also!

The present general commotion of Europe, should be espoused as a most favourable opportunity to strike tyranny down; for future battles shall not be decided by the strength of argument or wisdom, nor dictated by virtue and justice, but they shall be the results of military talents, and these may be possessed by one who may be quite unable to arrange measures for the organization of rights, and the progress of society.

Half measures will never do-they only inflame and thwart the

progress of beneficial religious, political and commercial measures: of this we have the experience of ages. Full measures must be resorted to. Europe is now labouring under a violent fever. The medicine must be applied to root out the evil radically, or she will never be right for centuries to come. The best medicine is to disarm her, to disband wholly her servile and ignorant soldiery, and then let the nations sit down quietly in their respective senates, and wisely and justly, with intelligent discussion, untie the Gordian chains that bind Europe in slavery and distress, and put an end to the ambitious and unjust play of human passions. To perform such an apparently difficult task, requires only £400,000; and the European thunders that now heave, pregnant with death, shall burst in fireworks; and from the bloody weapons that are going to strike awe and fear, shall be built a splendid and brilliant monument to commemorate peace, order, and fraternity, and wake a lovely and cheerful feeling of joy and happiness amongst nations.

TO YOU, therefore, ye wise and feeling men of Europe, whose support mankind needs, I dedicate the invention. Forward your names as supporters of the holy work, to your own eternal glory and the benefit of future generations. Hasten! before Europe shall be inundated with blood, and sown with unburied skeletons; for the approaching political hurricane is pregnant with the evil passions of men, who, like ghosts, will hunt and pervert the most manly attempts. Come and help to speed the last judgment. Doubt not recompense, for all nations shall overload you with riches, honours, and laurels, should you seek

or desire them.

The uncertainty of human life commands caution. Unexpected death may overtake all! Therefore the invented machine is a secret no more. I trusted the whole of it to a man of good heart and sense. Future will reveal the rest.

There are two classes in society who could soon accomplish the project, and offer peace to mankind, through their predominant influence, which could command belief—Clergy and Editors! The first privately, the second publicly. These have now the opportunity to use their far-famed talents and eloquence, whose divine power would alight the hearts and lift up the hands of millions, to raise up long oppressed and prostrated freedom. It is not a party, neither a national question, but it is humanity that cries for assistance. What a splendid field for pious and virtuous

prompters of morality and goodness,—what a brilliant field for the advocate of virtue and truth—the learned orator. Let the atmosphere resound with your divine songs! Let your call re-echo from pole to pole, with such mighty moral enchantment, that it may penetrate the most hidden recesses of the human heart, to arm the energy and alight the courage of mankind with that gigantic power, with which daring men could change the earth into heaven.





TREATISE.

"Trust nobody, and nobody shall deceive you."

GOVERNMENT.

What is government? Let us look up to the infinite firmament of heaven, and watch the numberless worlds of billions of millions of different stars and planets. We shall perceive amongst them the Lyra, which is 54,000 times larger than the sun, and her cubical space equal to 681,471,000,000,000,000 miles. And if we think that 100,000,000 of such stars are within the range and reach of the telescope, and that between each of them there is 200,000,000,000 miles of space, our thoughts cease to expand, our imagination is lost! How splendid, how beautiful such a tremendous army of stars would look could we but see them all at once! How great is our admiration of their regular and precise rotation! What a surprising harmony! What a wonderful order! How astonishingly wise and just laws! This is government.

Let us us now glance at this earth. What a surprising flux and reflux of the tremendous sheet of water; how regular, how punctual! What a friendly exchange of evaporating oceans helping the formation of clouds, and these dissolving themselves in drops and dews to refresh the fainting earth, and to replenish the rivers that swell the sea! What a wonderful dependence of elements upon each other,—the fire helped by the air, the air helped by water in clouds, the clouds helped by the wind, the wind produced by heat and cold! How timely they appear; what benefits, what life do they not give! How punctually the

seasons perform their service in turn! How beautifully, how nicely the globe turns itself round! What a wonderful order all around! How astonishingly wise and just laws! This is government also.

Government, therefore, is that wise and just arrangement necessary to set bounds to every part of nature, and to maintain its elements in order. The government of a nation therefore means its wise and just laws; but when these are not wise and just, it is a misgovernment. Such a law is always represented. The stars have their governor—mutual attraction. The sea has its governor—the flux and reflux; so nations have their governor—the king or president, which is nothing more nor less than a representative of the law.

Thus the government of a nation is a concentration of its power and representation of its laws. It is the moral head of a nation, springing out of its bosom—from its heart. enlightened and more civilized the community are, the wiser and better will be their government. The king or czar, the sultan or president, are only the matter and result of an indispensable and unavoidable necessity to the orderly conducting of the affairs of mankind, empty names, shallow titles, requisite only to represent the power—the government. There is no company without its director, no association without its president, no meeting without its chairman, no concert without its leader; and whatever his denomination may be, he only represents the laws of the assembled or associated men. Hence the different dispositions of men cause difference in their governments. The savage has his chieftain, who can kill him when he likes; the sultan sends his cord to his Mahometan to hang himself upon it; the celestial emperor bastinades his chinaman until he faints; the czar knouts his serf to death; half-civilized and half-barbarous tribes have their warriors, who lead them to be blown up by powder; or their consuls and pro-consuls, who lay them down upon the gullotine; and civilized men have their constitutional kings, who summon them before the tribunal of the country for examination. who assert that government have no right to interfere with the private affairs of the inhabitants, know not what government is; they are naughty boys, whose audacity and presumption prompt them to maintain, that a father has no right to interfere in the affairs of his children, and that they should live and act at home just as they please; that one may cat and drink as much as he

likes, and dress himself in finery, whilst the others are starving and walk half naked, because the first is the strongest, and gets hold of the household money and provisions. If government has no right to interfere, why does it meddle with private parties' meetings, who are not under any obligation to government? Or why does it check private companies of highwaymen and robbers? Because it is the duty of just government to interpose, when the imposters, no matter their name or office, wish to impose upon innocent and good citizens.

Should the aristocracy be allowed to do as they like, they will soon do as the nobles of Poland did—ruin themselves first, and then their country, through the criminality of their individual proceedings, party spirit, unprincipled emulation, and unchecked rapacity. If the people should be allowed to do as they like, they would soon do in every country as the Frenchmen did in 1792—burn the country and banish their hereditary aristocracy; or as the Polish peasants did in Gallicia in 1847, extirpate with knives their monical aristocracy, who were so indifferent to redress, that they rather gave up their lives than their gold. If leaders should be allowed to do as they like, they would soon reproduce Hippogriff-monsters and Hippopotamuses of men, as Cæsar, Alexander, Napoleon, &c., &c., &c., each killing two millions of men, for the gratification of his own ambition; or hideous misereants, as Czars of Russia and their Siberian hells.

An enlightened nation should generate in its bosom a code of laws, and shoot out from it a head, capable of governing all its parts, with propriety and with justice; and such head should not only be entitled, but virtually bound, to watch over the rights of all, and interfere instantly, if one monopolised class attempted to oppress another.

But governments now-a-days are poor. They are busy, like other speculators, in increasing their own fortunes. Nations are little aware, that the poverty of their respective governments forces them to many private speculations; that, relying upon the influence and power of their position, they use such to their private benefit, at the expense of the community; that they are linked strongly with all such monopolists as pay governments enormous sums to obtain the right and permission of imposing upon trade, imports and exports. Such dealings are matter of perfect privacy and secrecy; and people are ignorant that, though they refuse to pay their government in a direct and simple way.

they pay them indirectly through the hands of monopolists, with treble the amount of expense and annovance. Do kings think of the welfare of their people, or their families and coffers? Do they not beg for doweries and pensions? Do they not speculate and cheat in money matters? Does not the king of Prussia, Frederic William, order gold ducats mixed with brass to be given to the public, by which he gains enormous sums? Did not the king of France resort to emeutes and wars to make public securities fall, and having bought them, in order that he might change his policy, and make them rise, sell them with a rapacious profit? Do the aristocracy of money care for the improvement and enrichment of the people and their institutions, or their own Chateaux de Campagnes, in which they are so many little kings themselves? What do rich men care for the government? They support such governments as support, in return, their private views and monopolies. And what are the present political parties which influence the governments so much, but a race-course for offices and salaries of blues and greens, who run full speed at the risk of breaking their necks; and whether in office or out of it, they laugh heartily at the simplicity of their supporters, the gaping spectators.

An enlightened nation that wishes to be truly free, really comfortable, and pratically happy, must not support its different political clowns, and pay dear for their studied wit, for clowns "can murder when they smile;" but with the hand of a giant hold up strongly their government, and exert all the power of their mental and physical force, to hold it firm and high, and to heap on it all the fruits of their labour and industry. Otherwise mankind must yield to be the dupes of each other, and as long as this world shall exist, one class, whatever may be their denomination for the time, shall eternally labour and suffer for the comfort and happiness of the other class; and the words liberty, freedom, independence, comfort, shall be ever, as they now are, paltry toys, magic sticks, in the hands of political wizards, to amuse and sport with the "vulgar mob," as they call them, in order to get the last penny out of their pockets.

What are now the duties of the various governments? Have they any duties to perform towards the nations, or are they only to be a national biped, and with well-dressed head, to know only how to breathe and digest? Every nation has its life, and the government is the heart of it, through which all the moral and

physical blood of the national body must pass; therefore, it has important and very difficult duties to perform,—to preserve the life of a nation, which life is twofold, internal and external.

THE INTERNAL LIFE OF NATIONS, IS,

1st, The material power, which secures its limits, and protects the general interests of a nation;—and its natural riches, which ameliorate the condition of individuals. The first creates the independence of nations, the second the industry or independence of individuals.

2d, The moral power, or wise laws, which ought to be regulated, not only to watch over the safety of particular individuals, but should also watch over the safety of the whole;—and their civilization, which is not only needful to the public service, but to the support and maintenance of each person. The first secures the well-being of the country, the second the well-being of individuals.

THE EXTERNAL LIFE OF NATIONS, 18,

1st, The material power, which is a perfect political balance, that one nation should not have a superiority over others, and that it should not extend its limits at the expense of others. Also commercial treaties, by which the exportation and importation of the different products should not only be facilitated, but performed without the slightest injury to any class in either nation. The first guarantees the peace of a nation, and the increase of its riches; the second, the peace of individuals, and the means of enriching them.

2d, The moral power, or laws securing not only national, but also individual property, no matter in what distant parts of the world it may be placed; also political and religious liberty, enabling the nation to create and support such a form of government as is most beneficial to its happiness, and to worship God in the manner that may be most agreeable to it. The first guarantees national independence; the second, individual freedom, political and religious liberty, or perfect freedom of thought and action.

Besides this, the existence of nations is twofold:-

1st, Individuality, by which it maintains its peculiar forces necessary to the maintenance of nationality.

2d, Generality, by which a nation ranks itself in the circle of other nations, enters with them into union, and developes new powers to influence and benefit all mankind.

The internal life of each nation must incline towards individuals, to satisfy their primitive necessities; whilst the external life of each nation, approaching them nearer, and assimilating to their wants, must incline towards the benefit of the whole. Therefore, individuality must be in perfect harmony with generality, and the existence of nations is a mean to preserve such harmony and balance, which is the wise law of eternal creation. Each nation is a part of the human family, and the spot upon which social life is first cultivated, and then it expands to the benefit of all. Hence the existence of nations is a life, in which they constantly mix and exchange the interest of individuality with that of generality, with a view to their mutual support and existence.

The whole known world is composed of only two things, which the Almighty God has created for each other—the *earth* for the inhabitants, and the inhabitants for *heaven*.

The earth provides all its inhabitants with the same provisions necessary to the maintenance of their existence; and the similarity of the provisions received by such inhabitants creates the same wants; and the same ways of satisfying them forms the same inseparable interest of all; and as the danger of a deficiency or disorder of one part influences the other, mankind may see that Almighty God created them dependent on each other, and His holy will ties and binds them together for mutual help and unity.

The inhabitants ought to possess a similarity of national interest; for if every man in it values such an interest in the same way, and attaches to it the same importance and value, the state prospers; for the similarity of their conception, understanding, and spirit, will cause the whole inhabitants, like one man, to cherish a feeling of attachment and love to their own country, and then to their neighbours. The result of such a mutual action and reaction upon others is a perfect harmony or dissolution, and upon the balance between human powers and their mutual necessities depends its preservation or destruction. Therefore the eternal peace of mankind depends upon two points: First, That

every nation should separately cultivate a similarity of opinion and understanding, and have the same interest for the common cause. Secondly, Maintain the balance of their own power with that of other countries.

These two points are the pillars upon which the foundations of government in all nations should be built. In the strict maintenance of such internal and external life of nations, mankind can only look forward with a hope of a comfortable and respectable existence, to lead an easy and happy life; to expect a due remuneration for their industry and labour; to be able to call themselves free, and to enjoy heaven on earth. Otherwise, misery, distress, everlasting disorder and vexation must be the lot of the inhabitants, as it has been until now, because the internal and external balance of nations was always violated.

The whole modern history of the West is the best proof of this, because it is the history of an uninterrupted struggle for the political balance of nations. From the Emperor Charles the Fifth, the Austro-Spanish power preponderated too much, and immediately against it rallied France, England, Sweden and Denmark, and they fought for the political and religious liberty of Europe with the arms of Henry the Fourth, Gustavus Adolphus, Mauricy Nassau, Frederick of Orania, and Queen Elizabeth. No sooner, however, was the heavy sceptre of Austro-Spanish power crushed, than in its place rose the centralized and accumulated power by Richelieu, and also the dreadful absolute power of the Bourbons, ably conducted by the genins of Louis XIV. Europe again seized the sword, and fought long to restore its balance. Spain, England, Holland and Germany, coalesced, and ranged themselves first under the banner of Wilhelm of Orania, and subsequently under those of Marlborough. Eugene of Sabaudia, and Statuder Heinsiush. Yet, alas! hardly a century after this, we see Europe again coalesced against the dictatorship of Napo-Enormous treasures were spent, torrents of blood were poured out; and Europe, to-day, without such balance of nations, prepares for a struggle to decide in favour of Liberalism or Absolutism; whilst either of them, will more likely cause her disturbance than establish her balance. Such is the result of misgovernment, such is the inevitable result of unjust and unwise national laws. On the other hand, what was the end of the wars between France and England? Just this, that each of these countries went back to their respective soils. The conquest of Charles the Great, the Italian wars under Henry the Eighth, the conquests of Louis the Fourteenth, and that of Napoleon himself—how did they end? By France remaining in the boundaries circumscribed to her by nature. The same can be proved in regard to other nations of Europe, and although they did not reach to such an extremity, their tendencies and their ends were quite similar—the result of unwise laws, and so many proofs of bad government.

What a lesson is afforded to us by the French nation! Their revolution in 1792, decidedly rendered great and indisputable services to mankind. It abolished the feudal system, introduced equality in the eye of law, regularity in juries, in the administration, in taxation, and admitted all citizens to a share in the government. But, when the thirst for power formed different and strong parties, (having no wise laws to check them;) when pride and selfishness took the place of the public good; when blood rolled in torrents, not to establish new social principles, but for the benefit of aspirants to power; this revolution, sacred in its principles, was obliged to confess to mankind the deficiency of its laws.

Next, what an extraordinary lesson does not that nation afford, which, having tried the bloody republic under the convention, and the temperate republic under the directorate, was so frightened with such changeful governments—with their proconsuls thirsting for blood-that it looked for a man with a powerful arm, (instead of looking for a wise law,) who could save and draw out the nation from its perilous anarchy. And how did the republic end? They proclaimed a bold soldier as the chieftain of the nation; whose military talents only were known at that time. Rome, that old republie, having learned, after long experience, the painful results of changeful governments, threw itself into the hands of Cæsar. In every nation divided by parties, in the time of distressed eircumstances, and not provided with wise and just laws, the necessity of safety will give the reins of government into the hands of a warrior, or a man powerful by his influence in the nation, or by his popularity -like Cæsar, Medicis of Florence, or Napoleon-who yet may not be possessed of wisdom or true ideas of justice. The ten years' republies of England and France threw themselves into the hands of Cromwell and Napoleon. The present history of

Switzerland presents to us all the cantons under the government of an oligarchy; a small number of influential families grasping at the reins, everywhere intriguing for power. Bribery, persecutions, disputes, discord, and bloodshed was the result of the revolution of Geneva, and the last religious armament and struggle. Are not the home wars of that people but the proofs of the want of wise laws? . . . The two hundred years' republic of Poland, how ended its career? By degeneration, selfishness, tyranny-by the shameful downfal and annihilation of a country with a population of twenty millions!

This lesson should be the last to mankind. Why did an empire of such tremendous size as the Roman republic divide and fall? Because it had not wise and just laws—no good home government—being misgoverned. Why did the Jews lose Jerusalem, and were banished from their native land? For the same Why was Poland ransacked to pieces, and has suffered and bled for centuries? For the same reason. shall Russia fall to pieces? Because she is misgoverned. may England share the same gloomy fate? For the same reason. The latter ought to be very cautious; for if the threats that begin to travel rapidly, that a political party-conjointly with the Irish—at a future but appointed day, intend to set fire to all the large towns of Great Britain in one night; should such a threat, which God forbid! be brought into action, what will the government gain by it? The comfort of the nation is too great, its riches too enormous, its manufactures too numerous, and its buildings too costly, to be compensated by the death of the incendiaries

Therefore it is not the republican, nor the royal or ducal form of government that will prevent future mischiefs and miseries to society, but wise and just national laws,-good and powerful home governments; and whether the leader of a nation will be called ezar, sultan, king, or president, it matters not, he must be only the representative, guardian and protector, of the laws established and sanctioned by the nation. Let the head of a nation be as a leader, gathering together and representing the general interest of the country and the people, as creators and producers of their individual interests; paying the atmost attention that one party should not overbalance the other. For if the leader is stronger, and takes the advantage, tyranny and slavery will be the result; if, on the contrary, the people become predominant and usurping, anarchy and dissolution, or the total wreck of the country will be the consequence.

The government, therefore, of each nation, is either its bliss or its scourge. If its leaders are men of integrity and virtue, if they extend freedom, protect talent, secure employment, support, extend, and remunerate labour, they will be capable of imparting that harmony, union, mutual help and comfort to its inhabitants, which would make Heaven on Earth. But if self-interest, avaricious motives, haughty disposition, party struggles, indifference, and ambition, be the qualities by which they are known to the country, then miserable and wretched shall be the state of the people; for difficulties, want, war, and starvation, will scorch them like the burning fires of hell.

To review the past, and draw from it lessons of experience, is a worthy task for a thinking man. To respect all political opinions, examine the facts that influence the country, submit them to the acute and sharp judgment of public opinion, is the duty of every intelligent man. The best political lesson is the history of nations; that history should have taught us at once what kind of government mankind should wish, if they desire happiness, comfort, and peace. Let men dream no more of the changes, forms, and titles of governments; for republics with their presidents and dictators, empires with their emperors, and kingdoms with their kings, are falling down like mountains of sand. But let the nations study how to form wise and just laws, stipulating the duties and rewards, the employment and authority, from the king to the peasant, and have wisdom enough to command and enforce the practice of them. Do not the greater part of mankind as yet swim in torrents of blood, relling in gushes under anarchial democracy, or groan in chains and bathe in tears under absolute tyranny?

Taking a general view of nations, the high and middle classes, amounting only to one-tenth of the human race, are pretty comfortable, and enjoy many liberties and privileges, sufficient to insure their happiness. It is only among the class of workingmen and artizans that appalling misery spreads its heavy iron sceptre, and diffuses amongst them the work of destruction. So long as there is fair dealing between all classes of society, misery is impossible. As soon, however, as certain monopolies and advantages become too great, and men begin to oppress each other,

government has not only a right, but it ought to consider itself bound to interpose in the wisest manner. Where there is rebellion, famine, outrage, as a result of men's misdealings, the laws of every country, but not of its parties, must use their authority to check the evil which otherwise would destroy the benefit of thousands of years of industry, riches, and art. therefore, the working-classes are now labouring under great difficulty and privation, it is evident there must be some powerful cause of it. If it is their own fault, such should be shown: and if it is on account of their own proceedings and dealings, such should be instantly prohibited. But, if it is caused by other classes of men taking the advantage of, and oppressing them, such proceedings must be checked also; for it is all classes of men, taken jointly, that accumulate the wealth of the nation; it is all classes together, that support the laws of the country and its government: and as they mutually contribute to the resources of the nation, as their united service and labour constitute their happiness, peace, and comfort, the imposition of one class over the other is misgovernment, and the result of bad laws. and its pernicious progress must be instantly arrested. comfort and riches of all classes jointly constitute the happiness and riches of government. Thus, individual interest is the interest of the whole, and all classes have their peculiar duties to fulfil in order to maintain the general welfare. If, therefore, the people consider themselves at liberty to form and support different parties, they authorise the government to act the same. the produce and riches of their labour and industry are bestowed upon private individuals, what remuneration, what support, can they expect from the government, to whom they afford no benefit, no profit, no support? Should the people, therefore, determine that the enormous riches they can produce should be offered to one hand instead of many,—should they come to an understanding of supporting one instead of several,—should they come to the proper and reasonable judgment, to love their government, and to lend it their willing and utmost support, they would make that government,-

First, Rich beyond all calculation; Secondly, They would place all the necessary materials and means in the hands of the government, and at its disposal; and, Thirdly, They would be entitled to claim the attention and support of such a government in return.

Does not the present prevailing distress speak loudly the want and necessity of such an arrangement? What is the cause of so much misery and dearness of provisions as at present spreads over Europe? Because she has not one good and right government. And how is that? It results simply from the people not giving that proper, mighty, unanimous, and resolute support to their governments, which would in return entitle them to just benefits and protection. The people, instead of loving their government, and giving it their utmost moral and physical support, are led by a number of men, who form the different parties, to answer their different selfish motives and schemes. then allow themselves to be meanly bribed; they sell their conscience, their faith, their principles, in a drunken revel, to men who, void of justice or principle, regard them merely as temporary tools of low origin, costing them so much gold, and view them with the utmost contempt and disregard, even while they pay them for their support. The inconsistency of such proceedings often provokes the governments, and makes them remain indifferent to the welfare and happiness of the people; for they are again considered by them as low tools and supporters of any cause in any one's favour, deaf to reason, to providence, to justice, and listening only to the clink of gold.

The results of such unwise policy are exactly the present difficulties oppressing numerous branches of the commercial community. Such are the results of supporting speculators and private parties, who live only for themselves. The people now see, that when difficulties rise to such a perilous length, that misery makes them bark, the speculators hide themselves as quiet and as low as a hare in the corn, when she hears the howling and yelling of the pointers; they are neither to be seen nor heard; they give not their advice, but leave the people, like a herd of starving geese, to stretch their long necks and noses towards the government—to hiss for its aid, its interference, its Should not this teach all nations that the numerous and great calamities of the nations require not only immense sums of money (not in the possession of private parties, but in the national treasury of government) to be expended, but, moreover, require a certain system, a certain principle, upon which they could be put into practice, to redress the calamity, and prevent its recurrence. Private parties will oppose the wisest measures by selfishness or ignorance, and laugh often at those

who bring forward the measures, and make fools of them; but a good and wise government would not act so ridiculously. A just and wise government, by the enforcement of laws, can do much good to the country at large. They could not only redress the difficulty, supply the searcity, increase the circulation of money and commerce, but they could radically offer abundance, both of money, employment, and provisions, to the comfort and welfare of millions of inhabitants,—should such governments be but properly supported and aided in return? Why should not ONE and All thus join together, and nobly proclaim, with the dignity of enlightened men, that the happiness and welfare of a nation is not alone the work of private individuals, of private capitalists, of private industry, or individual exertion, but that it depends also upon the riches, power, and well-being of the home government? That such government we shall have, be what it may: That our leader, no matter his title, shall be bound officially and individually by the laws and constitution: That the parties representing different branches of national industry and commerce, and gathered together into a legislative body, shall be bound like the leader, and swear in the same manner, never to depart from those wise and just laws which they shall have accumulated in a code; and that as long as they fulfil their promise, and adhere to the oath, the people shall love them, obey them, and enrich them beyond limits. But that otherwise, the national guards of the country be called to assemble—to whom the people may present their grievances, and then justly shall the ungodly or ignorant members be deposed, and others be elected. Then such government shall know that they have no more to deal with a parcel of sheep, but with enlightened and armed citizens; and the people will know what they are about, and that no more bribery and lowness of principles, neither craft nor cunning, may rule, reward, or comfort them, but the wise and just laws, which shall be imparted to each of them, amongst the first rudiments of education.

The human mind has erred long enough, and has paid for its errors with seas of blood. It is high time that the intellect of man should receive its proper direction and course, not to injure and pervert, but to benefit society. In this age of advancement and knowledge, men should not dispute, as if they were savages and brutes, about the forms and titles of government, but study how individually they could strengthen and improve the plans and

regulations of the governing power, and how such power might most advantageously confer privileges upon individuals, in order to enable them to support it nobly in return. The duty of government should be to watch, with parental care, over the proceedings of its people, and as soon as one party takes the advantage of the other, it should immediately interpose. The people, in return, should show their gratitude for such attention, and place such funds at the disposal of government as would enable it to act instantly and effectually in eases of emergency. also should place in it the utmost confidence, lend to it the best and most speedy support, cover it with a divine dignity, assure it by their conduct and transactions, that they never think of any change whatever in the supreme power, or the leader of the government, so long as they have the fulfilment of their constitution and laws. In such a case, the government and the leader will devote their utmost attention to the welfare and the happiness of the people. Otherwise government, uncertain of its duration, will turn its powers to the maintenance of its station, form parties to protect it, confer upon such parties favours, although at the expense of others; such parties will protect and support those alone who rally round their banner (whether or not they possess good moral principles, and thus make the whole nation the prey of selfish motives and intrigues, with its government utterly indifferent to its welfare and prosperity. And having taken good care to assure themselves of the enjoyment of heaven on earth, will most respectfully leave the community to the suffering of a hell upon earth.

Men ought to consider what they are about; heaven itself suggests to the present generation their line of duty to awake them from their sin and guilt. A failure of some crop or other should not bring the country to the brink of destitution. Under well-regulated governments the storehouses, and not the magazines of powder, should contain an abundance, the surplus of fertile years, that a failure in one case should not be the cause of misery or want. The anger of the Almighty is visible now towards heartless and narrow-minded misers. In the universal failure of potatoes is displayed the wrath of Heaven. It is the hand of the great God that teaches and reminds his sinful and ungrateful children how wretched, how dependent, how limited is their position, how pitiful and miserable is their condition. If heaven denies men one of the thousands of provisions that grow

for their comfort, the money for which they work hard should not be layished in drunkenness and dissipation, but saved and used properly, as become beings endued by heaven with superiority over the other animals, with intellect and sense peculiar to men. It calls upon the poor to open their eyes, and demand their proper rights and remuneration. It calls upon the rich to open their ears, and hear the ery of men's misery and peril,-to stop in their thoughtless and unjust career, and consider the duties they have to fulfil; for God did not create human beings to live upon each other like rapacious wild beasts, but he gave them all the elements, and productions, and animals of earth to satiate their appetites and supply their wants. And are these the thanks, the deeds, by which we honour the Almighty-that one part of men starve, and brutalise, and enslave the other? What is the use of the hypocrisy and the vain attempt to christianize mankind, if the Bible is followed by misery and starvation? If there is less trouble, less misery, and more happiness and comfort in Turkey, China, Lapland, or Patagonia, how can they believe that Christianity is of any use, except it can make heaven on earth? Out of 9,000,000,000 human beings, there are only 2,000,000,000 professed Christians. Hear, therefore, ve who call yourselves the children of God, the followers of Christ, range and establish yourselves first in a position of happiness, comfort, and bliss; make your kingdoms the gardens of Eden, the earthly paradises, and then the barbarians and infidels, as ye please to call them, will follow your example instantly; for then to be a Christian will be to be a free, independent, comfortable, and happy man. But now!——I drop the rest.

The balance of Europe thus totters, the balance of many countries thus hovers, the danger approaches, and the aristocracy of money, more stubborn than any other, remains unmoveable and deaf to all propositions and plans of amelioration. This aristocracy, wide, numerous, linked in one mighty and ponderous chain, reigns now in Russia, Poland, Turkey, Germany, France, England, and everywhere—untractable, deaf, unfeeling, and proud. Do they wait for a dreadful visitation of heaven, such as was inflicted on the monied aristocracy of Poland in Gallicia? Will they despise the warning till knives and daggers touch their ears? till all the thrones of Europe shall be burnt; till all its crowned miscreants be kicked out, to increase the beauty of Albion; till its proud metropolis fall down in ashes to bury the

ungodly deserters? Is the last lesson not sufficient to paint the awful approaching future? Monied men! pause and think! And how should such aristocracy be treated—how should they be dealt with? Will the dethronement of Nicolas, Victoria, Frederick, or Philippe, put an end to misery? No! The free French Republic feels now that somebody has got hold of her neck, and pushes her down the edge of a precipice. It is the invisible monied aristocracy that drags her so violently. Rothschild is the emperor of the world, and he has numberless golden clients that follow and support him. It is his exchange-bill laws that trample upon liberty; his hand holds the balance of society. He has a stupendous army of golden elephants that trample, with their heavy paws, the wise laws of society—he carries the banner of tyranny; and the man who will devise a plan to dethrone that golden monarch will be the restorer of the European balance, and a bestower of earthly comfort and bliss! How then, and where, and who can dethrone him? Any government that will choose to start in the Herculean undertaking. But such a government must not be the prey of its home vultures, feeding upon its strength, but must be possessed of that power, dignity, love, and above all, riches, that would enable it to perform the modern wonder of the earth!

The government of a nation could firmly secure the affection of all classes, and avail itself of riches which it would be impossible to count, by the execution of the plans proposed in the following treatise, viz.: First, By building new houses and towns; Secondly, By establishing factories and supporting an army of workingmen; Thirdly, By constructing lines of railway; Fourthly, By reducing the price of provisions; Fifthly, By a new plan of emigration; and Sixthly, By a new method of education.

It is evident, that to accomplish such important, extensive, and numerous improvements, is not within the power of an individual, or even of a wealthy company to execute. It requires not only enormous sums of money (now divided between numerous and obstinate private parties), but also great power, in which should be concentrated the confidence and support of all classes without distinction. Another difficulty under the present system is, the numerous parties into which society is divided. Without, therefore, the aid of government, and the example of an intellectual and daring nation as leader, things will be obliged to go on in the same way, until the enormity of the evil will cause

a perilous subversion, in which the money, property, and lives of many will be sacrificed. And as it was previously stated and supported by historical facts, nations will ever struggle for their mutual security, or for the balance of Europe; and as soon as one nation rises in power and riches above others, it will be the one nation rises in power and riches above others, it will be the cause of war and destruction to all, for it will threaten the conquest of individual properties and liberties, and the result will always be a coalition, formed by necessity, or by the genius of men, conspicuous in their day, who will rally for general defence; and so it will last until the limits of Europe be finally settled and armies abolished! Yet the long and tedious history of nations teaches us, also, that such an overbearing power or artfully-gained advantage of one nation over another was never conceded willingly, but caused opposition, and usually required force. And history proves, besides, that the predominant power of one class over the other in the same nation, was always opposed, and never yielded but by force, and so it will ever be, unless nations form just governments and enact good laws. Hence all oppositions are the result of need: and to national and individual, to public and private oppositions, we owe entirely our present improved state of society. Religion, laws, learning, commerce, as soon as they became abusive, were opposed. Slow, indeed, was the progress by which mankind arrived at their present state, which, alas! after all, is far from perfect! Thankful to past generations for improvements, we must remember our duty is to improve them still more, for the benefit of our own progeny. Yet we know that very profitable privileges were never known to be given up willingly, either by nations or individuals, although they knew that they were gained artfully, illegally, and at the expense of others. Man will not give them up, for such is his nature, and hence the necessity of having wise and just laws, and acting up to them.

Europe, free from aristocracies of rank and birth, groans now under that of money. Is it probable that they will cede willingly those privileges and advantages, which, being decidedly usurped, have now grown too great? Will they even give up the smallest part of them? Decidedly not. Because they are ill educated, and cannot see the truth. Are those overgrown privileges not injurious to society? They are; and everybody knows that well. Are then the greatest part of society to suffer this evil? No! 'tis impossible. Opposition must be formed, is already forming,

and must be practically carried out. Yet a rising power, though mild at the outset, often becomes oppressive afterwards, which fact the history of nations and parties abundantly proves. Therefore ye wise men, "Trust nobody, and nobody shall deceive you." Form new governments, but link them to the nation with the unbroken garland of WISE AND JUST LAWS! And then concentrate upon them, for the benefit of all classes, the enormous treasures of the Aristocracy of Money.

EMPLOYMENT.

"Intellect is the capital which God has given to every man-labour the interest of it."

WHAT IS LABOUR?

Man was born naked, but he seized nature with both hands; out of clay he formed towns; from trees he built ships; he melted the sand, and made of it glass; with which he discovered and watched the rotation of planets. In one word, he created, by his *labour*, that social world in which he lives to-day.

As the word of God became a substance, so the labour of man became a substance; and as long as this labour exists, the world exists.

To regulate the world properly, to give it profound and good laws, is to regulate labour properly, according to the varied abilities of man. This is the principle and basis of society, which even the philosophy of the eighteenth century overlooked.

WHAT IS PRICE?

The price is what any article costs;—but how many things are there that cost a great deal, and are worth nothing? This proves that price depends upon something else than merely upon

what men choose to pay-that the cost of every article must have an absolute standard of its own, independent of the caprice of commerce. To find out that price, let us take a lump of clay, which is worth nothing; let us make of it bricks, then burn them with coals. Let us bring these bricks together and build a house. and that clay will be worth a great deal, simply because it has received the labour of man, his moral and physical labour—the immortal quality of man. The productions of the moon are worth nothing to us, because we do not labour for them. labour of man, in every branch of industry, is the price. Labour thus being the principle of the price, must be the spring of man's comfort and riches. If we, therefore, wish to be rich, we must either work ourselves, or what is most convenient and more comfortable, make others work for us. Such means were resorted to from the beginning of the world, not only by individuals, but by whole nations. And the history of all mankind proves that it was and is an uninterrupted succession of ways and means by which one part of mankind tried to appropriate to themselves all the fruits resulting from the labour of the other part, and then to use them as they liked. If one man wanted to reign over another, it was certainly not to trample and keep his foot upon him, that he might look down upon him from above, but that he might work and labour with his hands and his head. truth was overlooked by all the blind social reformers, who tried to emancipate man himself, instead of his labour, and therefore all the social reformations fell down like Spanish eastles built on sand or ice! The efforts and struggles of fifty ages were only so many useless pullings here and there, and brought no fruit. Mankind dragged themselves round and round, and had scarcely introduced some law or other, when greediness, rapacity, and idleness, invented a new method to invade and win the labour of others. We are in the same condition to-day as in the primitive ages of barbarity, and it will be so to the end of the world, if we only deceive ourselves with vain exclamations of freedom and brotherhood. We all know that, from the time of Christ, we are free and brothers; but instead of talking nonsensically of liberty, if we wish to enjoy comfort, plenty and bliss, let us coolly and honestly consider, and find out, what it is in this life which is to be called MINE, and what Yours or HIS!-for every man must get his own.

WHAT IS MONEY?

To get money man was obliged to form the productions of nature into useful materials. As exchange became general, it was agreed that a certain price, easily changeable, should be introduced. Small bits of sheepskin formed the first currency; then the weight of metals was introduced; then they stamped those metals; and hence coin, or money. Money, therefore, was the reward, and labour was the fortune of man. Money, however, in time, was concentrated into several lucky hands, who became masters of the market, and the consequence was, that a man who wished to purchase money by labour, was obliged to pay dear, whilst another, who wished to purchase labour by money, paid very little. This is the way money became monopolised, and its monopoly is the cause of our present distress. Money rose higher, and labour fell lower. With the existence of the aristocracy of birth, money had only a secondary place, but now it has come to the top, and opens the gate to all. Thus the whole study and assiduity of man is, to get money, as much and as soon as possible. The mode of per centage is the easiest and quickest, and it has now arrived at such a ne plus ultra state of perfection, that the same capital, by means of bills of exchange, may be used ten times, and bring a tenfold per centage, from which, by-the-by, another per centage is growing up. By these means, one class of men amassed all the circulating medium of society, so that now all mankind are divided again into two classes, those of capitalists and producers,—as they formerly were into those of nobles and serfs. The capitalists. in consequence, have become proud, luxurious, greedy, intriguing,-void of any noble or honourable emotion; they only know mankind so far as it is necessary for fishing the money, whilst the producers burn with intemperate avidity and thirst to become rich. Hence demoralization, cheating, impositions, and moral and physical misery; and labour, which is the capital of every man, cools and dies within him.

Sic vos non vobis* was four times written in ancient Rome.

^{*} In the time of the celebrated Gracchis, there prevailed a dreadful distress and famine in Rome. One of the Roman Senators (after fruitless attempts by many) wrote an anonymous plan of redress, which was unanimously accepted, applauded, and adopted; and although the whole empire was redeemed and

The same may be written ten times now, in modern Europe. Misericorde then! Misericorde now! and although millions of men have died, and millions been born, and such a quantity of labour performed, and so many reforms introduced, there is abundance of distress, multitudes of unemployed, and millions of poor and wretched beings! And why? Because men do as they like, and not as they ought. From the king to the labourer, all have employment, which is labour, and all look for a reward. Let one have honours, others fortune, but let justice and due remuneration be the share of all.

The proper organization of employment is the hardest task to all statesman, for the just organization of it constitutes the happiness of the community. This is exactly the difficulty that now occupies the minds of many. If disorder reigns in employment,—if speculation and competition reach madness,—if thousands of hands accumulated in one department, cause a deficiency in another, or if over-speculation employs at one time too many, and at another too few, it causes that uncertainty of employment which creates embarrassment, and condemns the nation to the fickle fluctuation of labour, which at one time provides workers with more than they are capable to perform, whilst at another time it leaves them no chance to have any whatever. Such is the case now in all Europe. He who will

benefited, the author remained unknown. A few years afterwards the nation wanted to tear the veil of mystery, to find out the benefactor. The Senate offered a very handsome reward. There were soon many claimants, when, at last, one succeeded in persuading them that he was the real author, who should receive the honours and reward,—when, to the surprise of all, four lines in Latin appeared on a paper, affixed on the door of the Senate-house, which were,—

Sic vos non	vobis,	!	!
Sic vos non	vobis,	!	!
Sie vos non	vobis,	!	!
Sic vos non	vobis,	!	

stating that the true author would finish the poetry with the same hand and ink, which caused a great deal of amusement and laughter. After a long lapse of time, when nobody had ventured to finish it, the true, but unknown author, finished them in Latin verse, begging the reward should be paid to the poor of the town, and that his name should be known hereafter. The translation into English will be as follows:—

So you, not for yourselves, bees! your sweet honey you do make,

So you, not for yourselves, oxen! you drag yokes on your neck,

So you, not for yourselves, sheep! you carry your wool growing,

So you, not for yourselves, people! you're working, digging, ploughing.

devise a proper plan of regulating employment, will gain the

applause of mankind.

The whole of society, in its economical position, is divided into two classes, first, the workers or producers, second, buyers or consumers. If every producer could meet directly his consumer, it would be just the very thing needed, perfect justice, full remuneration, and complete harmony and bliss; and upon this hangs the whole secret of organization. The nearest and shortest way to bring into contact the producer and consumer, solves at once the puzzle, and unties the knot of difficulty. But men created for it the longest possible roads.

MERCHANTS AND SPECULATORS.

It being impossible, even in the greatest towns, for the producer to deliver his labour to its immediate consumer, there follows the birth of a third class of mediators or merchants. Their employment is to buy from the producer, and sell to the consumer. For this employment they look for a reward, hence the price increases twofold; the first is the remuneration of the producer—the second, that of the mediator. And because profit is the soul of commerce, and its chief spring and resource, hence merchants only think where and how to buy cheapest, and where and how to sell dearest. Here lies the chief cause of the present social misery, for if such mediation was short and just, all would be right; but the number of those secondary merchantsthe speculators—is so excessive that they make an awful gulf between the price of the producer, and that of the merchant. Hence the producer must pay dear for articles bought from a merchant, and give part of his labour for nothing, for the profit of the next. Thus that leech, commerce, fattens itself to such an extent, that it would have burst, if another sucking snake had not stuck to its side—the banker! A speculator must have money to buy, and if he has not, he must borrow and pay the per centage of it. That created another class of men, bankers, who lend the money and receive part of the profits-but, because the speculator does not mean to lose, he sucks the producer; and thus it is not the trader, but the producer, that must pay the interest; and because the interest of a lender or capitalist * is to lend the greatest sums possible-which often they have not, they open accounts with the future, and give their bills

of exchange for appointed times, and thus treble or quadruple the sums of money, with which they fight producers.

But here does not end the misery, it goes still farther. As the ancient barons of the Rhine used to watch, from their fortified castles, the passing vessels of merchants, and laid a heavy contribution upon them, so modern bank-barons, leagued in a formidable phalanx, have seized and settled upon the whole commercial canal. They don't sport triffingly with single vessels, but hook so powerfully governments, that they now have them completely in their hands. Those governments who have borrowed money from them, must pay, like all the rest of speculators, the per centages out of the national taxes, and as the money cannot be obtained without labour-it is the labour of the inhabitants, which, through the hands of government, must pay tribute to the bankers: And this is the aristocracy of our age of moneyan age more gloomy than ever, the distress more appalling, and while poverty and filth putrefy the bottom, voluptuousness and unbridled libertinism rot the top of society. The age of the aristocracy of birth was marked by chivalry, honours, elevated ideas, manly spirit, liberality in spending money-but the age of the aristocracy of money abounds in meanness and cunning. Their motto is, "Every one for himself." Stately houses, equipages, and splendid dresses, are replaced by small cottages, cabs, and warehouse dresses. One may see those factory lords and shop marquises, dressed clumsily, as by wholesale clothes, going to concerts in dirty cabs, themselves in market boots and toapcoats in the boxes. In concerts and balls, they form a dreary assemblage of gold and silver men, afraid to rub against each other-an assemblage of conceit, split into paltry factions by differences of opinion, divided into pounds, shillings, and pence. The small merchants imitate the great. They always pretend to be poor; although shut up in their villa convents, like the priests of old, they swim in luxury, and spend thousands usclessly. The farmers under the nobility of birth, all appeared like independent gentlemen, with their equipages, livery servants, and neat country houses—but now one can hardly distinguish them from the labourers. With their money in banks, their children uncouth and uneducated, knowing only how to plough and milk, or how to lock up their granaries so as to produce scarcity, and then to pick the pockets of artizans and commercial men. come the gin-palace lords, with their daughters as bar-maids

and servants, illiterate, unfeeling, and ignorant. Neither of these parties patronise concerts, lectures, arts, sciences, nor tradesmen, but avoid all expenses, and are ever grudging, ever saving. What encouragement can trade expect, what remuneration can working men look for, whilst men who have princely incomes live mean and stingy. Such are the fruits of a money-seeking aristocracy!

To stop the onward career of such aristocracy, we cannot prohibit nor forbid their dealings, for this would be unconstitutional in a civilized nation, but we must form a new commercial channel, and give settlements on its shores to men differently educated and of different feelings, with the principles of commerce regulated by wise and just laws. We must oppose the present regulations of commerce, and such opposition shall be the best remedy.

COMMERCE.

In speaking of commerce, we must remember that it has a twofold course—one direct or straight, an other indirector crooked. Opposition in commerce, therefore, means to abolish the indirect (which is now universal and current), and establish the direct one in its place. Direct commerce is fair, and means the straightway of exchange from the producer to the consumer, or the nearest possible way. The indirect is the second, third, or fourth hand disposal. As for instance,—a speculator buying an enormous quantity of corn or goods, locking it up for years, to make a scarcity, then selling it to the wholesale merchants, who keep it still longer, till its price becomes very high, and then sell it to great advantage to secondary dealers, and they with additional profit to retailers. Such a system checks direct or proper commerce, and is the greatest tyranny that can be practised upon society; and the practitioners of such a system should be regarded by society as mischievous and naughty boys. away with those crooked mediators of commerce the best plan is, that government should be bound to purchase corn every year in sufficient quantity to fill up the national granaries, established in every town under the responsibility of the corporation of each. The corn purchased by government should be sent direct to different corporations, free of railway expense, and so deposited in the town granary and sold to the inhabitants without further

mediators than the clerks of the town granary. In a case of farmers declining to sell at a proper price, government should provide instantly from abroad, giving always the corporations one year's credit. Every one may easily conceive, that in the first instance, enormous riches would sink into the national bank of the country, as national treasures, and into the towns' banks, as treasures of the inhabitants, and that such an arrangement would open offices for thousands of clerks with good and certain salaries, preferable to the present miserable condition of thousands of ruined speculators.

Taking the general average of each country, as for instance, Great Britain and Ireland, each man in it requires one shilling a-day for his nourishment; a family of five, five shillings; it follows that 25,000,000 inhabitants require £456,250,000 worth of provisions annually. Thus 10,000,000 pieces of different cattle, or £100,000,000 worth of meat, £100,000,000 worth of eorn, £100,000,000 worth of vegetables, and £150,000,000 worth of beverage, is the amount which Great Britain and Ireland ean easily produce at home. But the class of secondary mediators are the cause of the scarcity, and the source of all vicious speculations and unfair monopolies, whose soul is selfishness and avarice, and whose spirit is hardness of heart. The sum of £456,250,000 would be only an advance by government to the corporations, for which government would clear £135,180 per annum of interest, leaving a similar sum to the corporations, at 6 per cent interest. From such interest might be paid the officers necessary to the order of such corn bazaars, it would open eonstant situations for 2700 clerks at £100 salary per annum. Similar interference of government should be adopted in regard to other articles of necessity, in order to establish direct commerce in all branches of merchandise at once and over the whole country. It is those artful and unnecessary mediators and private speculators who establish the possession of property as the basis of society, instead of employment and labour. Every one should be allowed to draw his resources from the abundant fountain of the nation, but not to obstruct its sources by arresting them with money. Employment and labour is the real value of a man, because it has no changeable nor artificial price like crafty banking speculations, which now ruin the welfare of society. Money then shall no more be goods in the hands of monopolists, but an article of straightforward exchange, and that is exactly

what money ought to be. Then employment and labour would produce riches, and fortune would become an honourable and praiseworthy distinction of individuals—the key to higher grades of society. The present corruption of morals, dissipation, base bribery, and degradation of moral men by charity, shall be banished for ever from society. A man capable of making his fortune by his employment, talents and industry, will be then, and only then, a truly free and independent moral being. chinery, which is now the curse of the people, shall be its blessing, for a few hours' work at leisure would suffice to their maintenance, and leave them plenty of time for the cultivation of their morals and talents, and the enjoyment of home, whilst at present one must work as hard as a mule, merely to satisfy his hunger, and remain in a state no better than the brutes. Then a workingman will be instructed, free, a useful member of his class and his country, a moral and independent being, whilst now he is nought but a human brute, a white slave, of his banker and his merchant. The government of a nation put upon such a foundation will stand firm and unshaken as long as the world; but now, placed upon a political or religious basis, it totters at every blow of money aristocrats, reformers and warriors. The nation, with commerce so regulated, will live within itself, could dispense with foreign favours, will not be afraid of competition, and grow moral and honest, for there would be no chance for cheatery or bankruptey.

PARTIES.

Yet what benefit, what help, can governments offer now to their people, if they are the play and game of parties. What nation has to do with parties,—what are they? The wristling of so many flats for a few sharps! Government should know but one party,—the nation; and the nation but one, and that is, the government. And what power, what support, what riches have government now? None! The people support parties, and the parties fight to misgovern them. They do not struggle for employment, but for office,—not for principles, but for money. A nation that wishes to enjoy rest, freedom, and independence, must cease to support any party, but must form a perfect constitution, or civil, political, and commercial laws, making the leader the guardian of them, and support only the government.

ELECTION OF M.P.

Governments are selected and chosen by the nation, 'tis true, -but how? A candidate that is wishing to represent his county, must spend so much money to bribe his constituents to elect him M.P., which means also, much paid. He then sets off to the metropolis, and, having before him several years' purchased and undisputed power, he tries to make the best use of it, by acquaintance with ministers, lords, and government favourites, and strives to secure for himself or his numerous relatives, places in the colonies,—America, Africa, Egypt, China; no matter where, if only with good incomes. The business of others comes after their own, for besides a great deal of trouble and annovance to many of them inside of the senate, and much expense outside of it, amongst their newly-introduced circle of friends, they have no remuneration, no pleasure; they care little for those upon whom they lavished their several thousand pounds; and thus during their honorary parliamentary service, they only watch who has the greatest power and dispensation of lucrative offices,-how the favour of His Grace or His Excellency could be won, and in what key to speak in the senate, so as to gain the approval of those who might serve them in future. Additional expenses follow additional honours, and their new sphere expands a great deal wider both the purse and the brain of an M.P.

The member of parliament should have his chatean in the county, his palace in the metropolis, with due livery, horses, equipages, and a pension of a few thousand pounds per annum given to him by the electors from the town treasury. Elections should be yearly and without bustle, noise, or drinking. The member may continue in office during the pleasure of the electors. Such an M.P. will have a small fortune before him. He will respect and esteem his constituents as a class of men who can do him good; his honourable service will be bountifully acknowledged by a substantial pension and equipage, and in order that he may enjoy them as long as possible, he will be good, just, and diligent. Such an M.P. will then really attend to the interests of his constituents; and being made by them independent of others, will advocate their cause sincerely and truly, and not like many now, who plead the inviolability of conscience, (?) and

beg to inform their supporters that they can promise nothing, but act in accordance with circumstances, which just means that not knowing yet which party will offer them the best and most lucrative sinecures, they do not know which they will support. M.P's will then be the representatives of their respective counties, and not, as they are now, representatives of themselves. They will be dependent upon the counties, and not the counties upon them; they will support the government, and not the government them; they will be obliged, and not graciously pleased, to do their duty.

MAYORS AND CORPORATIONS.

In a similar position stand now the mayors, provosts, burgomasters, and corporations of towns. They must have the power and the means (as pointed out in the treatise of Building of Houses) to watch over the proper cleanliness of towns, and over the employment and comfort of the inhabitants. would form a secondary power of governments, by regulating society in their respective counties, and, having a right of interference circumscribed by laws, they will measure out justice to Yet their existence in office must be longer than one year, for that is not sufficient for any undertaking, far less any improvement. The king, or president, should give dinners and balls, two or three every year, to which the different dignitaries of country towns in turns, should be invited, as well as their wives. They should so mix with the haut-ton of kings or presidents' palaces and the metropolis, and having seen the manners and ways there, come back to their respective towns, and give dinners and balls to their respectable inhabitants. Such conviviality would insure a loving feeling amongst all parties. diamond tiara of a countess will not fade though she condescend to dance and talk with a mayor, alderman, or doctor from the province;—neither will the gold chain of a mayor or mayoress tarnish in the company of a secretary or clerk of an office in town. But conviviality, manners, politeness, etiquette, good feeling, and above all, good sense, will flow from the crown to the mayors and aldermen of small towns, from thence to secretaries, clerks, and little dignitaries, and from thence to the great mass of the people. Nations will thus enlighten, and improve, grow polite, genteel, mannerly, kind, obliging. They will love.

and not hate each other. But in the present days of vulgarity, and barbarity of monied aristocrats, Miss Baker will not dance with Miss Butcher, and Miss Jeweller could not think of such a thing as walking with Miss Tailor, or be talking to Miss Broker; and Miss Shoemaker smells so strong of the leather, it makes Miss Hairdresser quite faint! Lo! what a humbug! And this in civilized Christian Europe! A young man enters a party—young ladies instantly ask, What is he? What is he? A clerk? What a pity, only a clerk-k-k!! How much has t'other a-year? One hundred. Pugh! That's not enough for pins! Another fair aristocrat says: This rich speculator clears £800 a-year. But he is an invalid, has a wig and false teeth; however, all's right! the pearly teeth are shown, compliments bestowed, sweet looks, like eau-de-Cologne, plentifully lavished, to refresh the visitor, no matter his politics or dealings. The age of the aristocracy of money abounds with such soi-disant ladies -and there is no real harmony in it: men are always suspected to be impostors. Why so !- because unjust and fallacious laws give them every facility to be so. Government should pour out invitations freely to all classes of respectable and honourable citizens, and these to their inferiors. Noblemen in counties should mix more with the town gentry, and such with tradesmen. This would spread better manners and morals. Good education will point to all of them their proper places in proper times, but the aristocracy of money think education only a secondary want, and carry their vulgarity with them everywhere. Hence discord and hatred in society. Mayors and corporations should be made richer, as will be shown afterwards, and more honour ought to be bestowed upon them. Their election should be differently arranged, and their salaries good. Each of the aldermen should have a separate department to superintend in his town-one over buildings, another over gas and water companies; one over schools and education, another over prices of goods, provisions, and all kinds of markets, and so on.

If corporations had their palaces, equipages, and good pensions, as a remuneration and a chance to increase their fortunes, instead of losing them, the inhabitants may depend that no class in their town would suffer that misery or want of employment which now is the result of private and unfair speculations.

We have given already an instance of the injustice practised

upon society by the monopoly of corn-dealers; and to prove the enormous evil resulting from other private speculations, let us take another example.

RAILWAYS.

A merchant embarks in the speculation of making a large fortune (that sole and sweet reverie of all money speculators), and as he cannot do it himself, he must find somebody to do it for He thus builds his engines, lets them loose to play in his mammon temple of a factory, engages 500 men to work, receives good orders, executes and dispatches them, gains enormous profits, and continues doing so for a long period. For instance, Paisley shawls, which (as afterwards particularly explained) costs originally £1, are sold to the public from £5 to £6 sterling; or a Manchester silk or velvet fabric (explained also), which originally costs 1s. 3d. a yard, is sold to the public from seven to eight shillings. Having thus, in a few years, amassed a good fortune, he gets tired of it: but his easily-earned fortune tickles his fancy to double it again, even if it was only for a lark. Commerce may now go slow, the markets may be stagnant, but he does not like to be lazy, as he says, although it is avarice that annoys him, and he looks through the telescope of greed for another harvest field with better per centage, quicker returns, safer investment. Here—there—ha! Railways! Happy thought! Onward to it he flies with all his cash—he reduces his factory—ealls his fellow-townsmen and brothers together, bids them most respectfully a jolly farewell, departs and leaves hundreds out of employment.

The factory established by govenment, and under the superintendence of the town corporation, shall never close; and, what is better still, the workman shall be engaged and kept for life, if he behave, and have his retiring pension in his old age. But now, the men who made the money for private speculators are left poor, helpless, without employment, and what is worst of all, without any prospect for the future except blind chance. They might have been employed longer had not their master flown off to another field, where he employs only half of the hands at work of quite a different description; these in their turn work hard for master's interest, and qualify him to start elswhere a still newer undertaking. And so it is "Sic vos non vobis"—they work

Such a fluctuation causes the money to flow not for themselves. rapidly into quite different channels of commerce, employs different men, a less number of them, and dries up the branches of former commerce, upon which nevertheless the unemployed insects swarm, faint, and starve. Here the speculator, like the monopolizing corn-dealer, covertly taxes the public to make his fortune. He is only more rapacious and more dreadful: for whilst he is trebling his capital by shares in the railway, the profits on which are more than they ought to be, the public must support the starving men he left behind him. Here a man lays down the rails, not for his own, but for the public convenience, and charges travellers whatever price pleases him. Were such railways built by government, or corporations of towns, how great would be the difference! as will be seen by the table on the following page.

RAILWAY LOAN.

Years.	Government Loan.	Interest.	Interest every 10 years.	Amount of Debt paid.	Total yearly payments.	Every 10 years.	Each line
	E	£	£	£	£	£	£ s.
1	1,000,000	50,000		15,000	65,000		650 0
$\frac{2}{3}$	985,000	49,250			64,250		642 15
4	970,000 955,000	48,500 47,750			63,500 62,750		635 10
5	940,000	47,000			62,730		$\begin{vmatrix} 627 & 15 \\ 620 & 0 \end{vmatrix}$
6	925,000	46,250			61,250		612 5
7	910,000	45,500			60,500		605 10
8	895,000	44,750			59,750	i	597 15
9	880,000	44,000			59,000		590 0
10	865,000	43,250	466,000	150,000	58,250	616,250	582 5
11	850,000	42,500			57,500		575 10
$\frac{12}{13}$	835,000 820,000	$\frac{41,750}{41,000}$	1		56,750 56,000	1	567 15 560 0
14	805,000	40,250			55,250		552 5
15	790,000	39,500			54,500		545 10
16	775,000	38,750			53,750	1	537 15
17	760,000	38,000			53,000	i	530 0
18	745,000	37,250			52,250		522 5
19	730,000	36,500	201 250	200.000	51,500		515 10
20	715,000	35,750	391,250	300,000	50,750	$541,\!250$	507 15
$\frac{21}{22}$	700,000 685,000	$35,000 \\ 34,250$			50,000 49,250		500 0 492 5
23	670,000	33,500			48,500		485 10
24	655,000	32,750	1		47,750		477 15
25	640,000	32,000			47,000		470 0
26	625,000	31,250			46,250	I	462 5
27	610,000	30,500			45,500		455 10
28	595,000	29,750			44,750	1	447 15
29	580,000	29,000	010 070	150.000	44,000	100.000	440 0
30 31	565,000 550,000	$\frac{28,250}{27,500}$	316,250	450,000	43.250 42,500	466,250	432 5 425 10
32	535,000	26,750			41,750		417 15
33	520,000	26,000	1		41,000		410 0
34	505,000	25,250			40,250		402 5
35	490,000	24,500	1		39,500	1	395 10
36	475,000	23,750			38,750	1	387 1
37	460,000	23,000			38,000		380 0
38	445.000	22,250			37,250		372 5
39 40	430,000 415,000	21,500 $20,750$	961 950	600,000	36,500 35,750	201.050	365 10 357 15
41	400,000	20,000	261,250	000,000	35,000	391,250	357 15
42	385,000	19,250			34,250		342 5
43	370,000	18,500			33,500		335 10
44	355,000	17,750	1		32,750		327 15
45	340,000	17,000			32,000		320 0
46	325,000	16,250			31,250		312 5
47	310,000	15,500			30,500		305 10
48	$\frac{285,000}{270,000}$	$\frac{14,750}{14,000}$			$29,750 \\ 29,000$		297 15 290 0
50	265,000	13,250	166,250	750,000	28,250	316,250	290 0
51	250,000	12.500	100,200	100,000	27,500	010,200	275 10
52	235,000	11,750			26,750		267 15
53	220,000	11,000			26,000		260 0
54	205,000	10,250			25,250		252 5
55	190,000	9,500			24,500		245 10
56	175,000	8,750			23,750		237 15
57	160,000	8,000			23,000		230 0
58 59	145,000 130,000	7,250 6,500			22 250 21,500		222 5
0	115,000	5,750	91,250	900,600	20,750	241,250	215 10 207 15
61	100,000	5,000	0.,200	201,100	20,000	,	200 0
62	85,000	4.250			19,250		192 5
63	70,000	3,500			18,500		185 10
64	55,000	2,750			17,750		177 15
65	40,000	2,000	1		17,000		170 0
66	25,000	1,250	10.050	1.005.000	10,250	101.050	162 5
67 5 8	5,0 10	500	$19,250 \\ 0$	1,005,000	15,500	124,250	155 10
				U	0	0	
		0	1,711,750	1,005,000	2,711,750		

 $\text{Total rent of 67 years, } \pounds 2,711,750 \; ; \; \text{papers burnt, } \pounds 1,000,000 \; ; \; \text{Profit to Government, } \pounds 1,711,750.$

Suppose now that government borrowed from its subjects, or that a corporation borrowed from government £1,000,000. Admitting that one mile of railway, on an average, costs £10,000, £15,000, or £20,000 (the real cost matters not, it only will serve to explain the principle), suppose the expense is £10,000 per mile. £1,000,000 will therefore construct 100 miles. interest from £1,000,000 is £50,000 per annum, which, with £15,000, requisite to pay off the debt, by yearly instalments, will make the first year's desideratum £65,000, to be paid from 100 miles, or £650 to each mile. The next year, as the preceding table shows, £15,000 being paid, the real debt is only 985,000, the interest of which will be £49,250; and again £15,000 to pay a second instalment, will require only £64,250, or £642 per The third year's debt will be only £970,000; interest, £48,500; instalment, £15,000; together, £63,500; or £635 per mile. The eleventh year's debt (ten instalments being paid), will be only £850,000; interest, £42,500; instalment, £15,000; together, £57,500, or £575 per mile. The thirty-first year's debt will only be £550,000; interest, £27,500; instalment, £15,000; together, £42,500, or £425 per mile. The sixty-first year's debt will be only £100,000; interest £5000; instalment £15,000; together, £20,000, or £200 per mile. In the sixty-eighth year the debt will be wholly paid, and the railway shall be the property of the nation, as it ought to be, for it is the public that pays them. and its revenue in future shall flow to the national treasury. The first year it was necessary that one mile of railway should bring £650 to pay interest and part of the debt; but every successive year the debt falling, relieved the line by degrees, so that in the sixty-first year the line had only to pay £200, or £450 less; and the sixty-eighth year the line has nothing to pay, and whatever revenue in future it will bring will be for the benefit of the na-The surpluses of the following years will be sufficient to maintain offices and men necessary to the service of the line, which, besides, will leave great sums to be deposited in the national treasury during the first sixty-seven years. As the revenue from railways fluctuates, it is difficult to ascertain the precise profits. The average, however, of such profits may be easily ascertained from the experience of the present system, which proves that a line of railway, no matter in what part of the country, brings an average yearly income of from £1500 to

£2800.* Government, by advancing one million, will gain at the expiration of sixty-seven years, by the interest being annually reduced, and £15,000 of the original debt paid off, the sum of £1.711.750, nearly double the amount of the sum borrowed. There are 10,000 miles of railways in existence in Great Britain, and no doubt another 10,000 shall yet be constructed. government undertaking the opposition in building the other 10,000 miles, will be obliged to bear the expense of £100,000,000, which sum shall return back to the government in sixty-seven years, bringing besides the interest, amounting to no less than £171,175,000 in sixty-seven years. Such 10,000 miles once constructed will bring regularly an yearly income to the national treasury, counting only £500 per annum for each line, amounting to £5,000,000 a-year, although there is every reason to believe, that with more comfortable carriages, and greatly reduced fares. the lines would surpass the present revenue by far. who will urge the impracticability of such a plan on account of the enormous outlay, the reply is ready, that what cannot be built at once can be constructed gradually, even beginning by laying down ten miles, besides it is only a matter of sixty-seven years, in which every million converts itself into £2,711,750. And the following treatise explains how the government can easily have an hundredfold, £100,000,000, for its benefactory undertakings.

Travelling then would come to nothing, for the land and the constructions and labour being paid, after 67 years there will be no further expense but alterations of roads, earriages, and officers' salaries, which, considering the enormous revenue, will be a mere trifle. Prices therefore shall be greatly reduced, and besides the pleasure of cheap travelling, the nation will have the facility of transporting their goods for a trifle. If only the same number of passengers should travel then as they do now, a distance of 100 miles will only come to 2s. 6d. To go 100 miles for such a trifle would be quite a treat, and a due homage to the intellect of man. Yet, besides such pleasure, there would be further benefits to society at large, as will be hereafter explained.

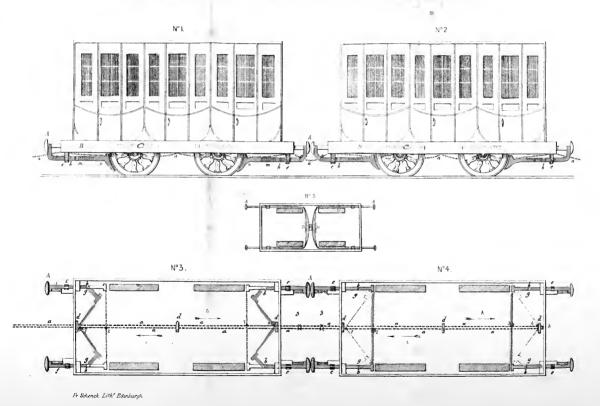
^{*} If only 500 passengers cross each mile a-day, at the government rate, 1d. per mile, they bring £2, 2s. a-day, or £756 a-year, although the number is often fourfold.

The wise and just laws of the country should establish, that any future purchase of lands, intended for public and national use, shall be valued at £40 an acre, which is more than a good price (for the general price of beautiful land out of town is 1s. 6d. a square yard); whilst now, it being a private speculation, unrestricted by the law, many demand from £500 to £800 for an acre, which is an imposition and check upon any undertaking or improvement. Numerous kind of roads or canals, or even villages, have already changed their places, and will change them in future: but the earth is always the same, and its value should not alter, otherwise it is cheatery. Suppose that something valuable was placed upon the empty land, such as a building, or factory, or garden, it is that which increases the value of the land, and the profits of such house or garden generally pay the speculator; but in a case where they did not. which should be strictly examined, the original value only should be returned. Suppose again that a new line of railway caused an old line to be of no further use, and the company wished to resell it for the growth of corn, vegetables or flowers, as it has been before, would its previous landlord give the same sum back to the Company, which he took from them? Most decidedly not. Why? Because he imposed upon the Company, but he has too good sense to impose upon himself. So the whole estates of every country ought to have their value settled and registered, as it is in Germany, France, Austria, and not as it is in many other countries, in spite of the army of lawyers, and libraries of laws. So registered and valued lands would put an end to all impositions, first between tenants and landlords, secondly in public sales; it would stop the attorney's piracy, and is quite indispensable in every commercial country.

The mode of travelling by railways was calculated to benefit trade by cheapness and speediness of conveyance; but private speculators, turning the whole attention of the public to its speed, and making a great fuss and uproar about machines, dazzled the eyes of the people, and not a word was spoken of the cheapness, for they wanted to keep enormous profits in their own pockets. Formerly people could have gone by coaches for eight or nine shillings, whilst now, for the same distance by railway, for the miserable third-class boxes, they must pay ten or eleven shillings. Thousands of such instances may be brought forward to prove the enormity of the imposition, and

directors, instead of making a gradual fall in price, raise the value of tickets at pleasure. What is the real advantage of railways now? Great speed and a great number of broken necks. numerous accidents which have already happened on railroads should have commanded the attention and vigilance of companies to introduce a preventive measure; but private speculators do not study the safety and lives of travellers, but only their The railroads under government or corporations, would be obliged to go to a little further expense, at the demand of the public, many of whose lives have already been sacrificed. and construct a safety pilot engine or avant garde. This might be made as a small locomotive with four wheels, and requiring only one man to work it. It should be heavy in proportion, and run half a mile before each train, thus being able, in a case of accident, to whistle an alarm, and give sufficient time for the train to stop. The expense of such a pilot would be but a trifle, and the safety of trains would induce a great many to travel, who, under present circumstances of uncertainty, do not. the trains should be provided with more guards, capable to serew down all the carriages at once. Why has not every railway carriage (like coaches, that do not yield the half) its own guard? Because of the greediness of private speculators. It is a great shame that, in spite of the inventions already made to stop the trains, they will not adopt them, on the paltry excuse of expense, which is a mere trifle. When I applied with my two inventions, a plan of one of which is adjoined, a renowned engineer replied, " It is very good, but we cannot force all the companies to adopt it, and therefore, it is of no use to one line." In the plate (fig. 1. 2. 3. 4.) A A A A represent buffers running along B B B B. between wheels and side planks, provided with the springs C C. Such buffers are at present constructed as No. 5 shows, pending on the drag spring D D, fixed at the bottom of carriages against a block of wood E, and they only prevent their shock. By affixing to such buffers the parallel iron bars, ffff painted red, fixed firmly in the points A A,—which are the cushions of the buffers, passing through strong iron rings, in points e e e e, provided with spiral screws m m, and the cushion n n—the least motion of a buffer would move the bars, and the cushions would immediately touch the wheels; and as both would have spiral springs, the least pressure would push the cushions against the wheels, and the stronger such pressure became, the tighter would

AN INVENTION TO STOP THE TRAINS INSTANTLY.





be the action of the cushions upon the wheels-as soon as the train would move, the buffers and bars would expand back and relieve the wheels. When the train required to be backed, the engineer would turn a wheel, fixed close to him, attached to a chain, marked a a a a, passing underneath the carriages, and suspended in rings marked $d\overset{\circ}{d}dd$; whilst the left part of the chain would move towards the engineer in the direction of arrows i i, its right would go from him in the direction of arrows h h, for in the last carriage such chain would run round the point k. To the principal chain a a a a, on its left side, are affixed small chains, painted vellow, in the points 2, 2 (No. 3 and 4), and on its right in the points 3, 3 (No. 3 and 4), so that when the left side of the principal chain is moving in the direction of ii, the little chain moves from 2 to 1, and opens the front bars sideways in the points b b b b, whilst the right side of the principal chain, moving in the direction of h h, pulls the little chains from 3 to 4, and opens the back bars in points b b, which openings b b b b b, are armed on the other sides with powerful springs in points g g, so that when the engineer slacks the chain back, the springs q q press the bars back to their original position, which is straight against the wheels.* Such a principal chain, a a, may be opened in points marked with stars 3, 3, to admit another carriage, whilst all carriages have points k, as No. 4 shows that the chain may be closed in every carriage, and turned round the rings fixed in k. The addition of such bars and chains is so little that it leaves no ground for excuse, except want of will.

We have every reason to believe that government and corporations would show a little more sympathy than private speculators do to travellers, but especially to that class which in every step of the social circle are treated with the grossest injustice. The third class carriages for working-men are a great disgrace to an enlightened nation. The shame rests with all the companies, who, nevertheless, get more money from the poor than the rich classes. For every passenger in the first class there is at least a hundred in the second, third, and fourth. The third and fourth class carriages bring more money than the first, although both are of the same size and burden, and nearly the same expense, but a working-man is dragged in an open kennel

^{*} No 3 shows the bars when opened sideways in points b b b b. No. 4 shows them when closed against the wheels by the springs g g g g.

like a pig; he has no seat, or, if there is one, it is only a parody of it; exposed not only to face the snow and rain, but to sit upon a wet form, or stand in water all the time of his travelling, with a violent current of wind blowing furiously on his unprotected face, tearing off the hat from his head; sufficient, by its wild flush under the tunnels, to produce rheumatic fluxion in the head or Drops of water, mixed with the smoke, escape from the funnel pipe, and, whilst they dirty his clothing, large lumps of red-hot coals fall like rain upon the whole of the passengers, and burn perhaps their best garments. This is done to force people to go by the second class, which, nevertheless, are but little stables for sitting animals, hard and filthy. All this is done in order to enrich the proprietors: but it is a shame for the public companies to use the working-classes so cruelly. Were railways public property (which they ought to be, seeing it is the public who pay for them) not only would better accommodation and comfort be provided for second, third, and fourth class passengers, but the expense would be reduced to a trifle; nay, all sorts of impositions, now practised in the station-houses (as selling refreshments and provisions at high rates), would be entirely done away with. To such railways, all professional men, who spread instruction, fine arts, and elegant accomplishment, in all quarters. should be entitled to go gratis, but now the half of their assiduous earnings go to coachmen and railway proprietors. eminent artists, members of concerts, vocal and instrumental, who can improve the taste and enliven the dulness of towns, should be carried free, but now the expenses paid by bands who visit the provinces devour all their revenue, and professional men, after having moved the avalanches of gold, retire from towns with only a few silver coins. The same privilege should be given to all lecturers and scientific men.

The privacy of the construction of railways causes many manufacturers to desert their business and the towns in which they have made, and in which they ought to spend their fortunes. This deprives the town first, of a man who, being rich, would give employment to a number of men; secondly, of a man who would greatly contribute to lead the fashion and expand commerce amongst his townsmen; thirdly, of a man who would be an ornament and benefit to society and the fine arts, whose company was desirable for the improvement of morals and manners, but who flies now to higher birds to be again an apprentice

amongst them, and often a laughing-stock in the new circle, whilst he might have been amongst the most honoured and best of men. The clergy and doctors, unable to withstand the temptation of darling shares, cast their cash also upon the rails, limit their expenditure at home, and thus the money which they would have spent at home, to the benefit of the town, is now embarked upon rails. Railways ought to be national property, and the price of travelling be lowered every year, as the falling debt decreased, and after sixty-seven years, their existence would be of unimaginable benefit.

Rich merchants retiring from their respective businesses, open vacancies for others, and their places are filled up, but unfortunately by those who are not half so rich. But what are the consequences of this? A new manufacturer or a merchant who has a fortune of £5000 pretends to have £10,000, and opens credit to that amount. If he does not instantly succeed in the disposal of his goods, he cannot honour his bills—he falls, his goods are sold, and who suffers by it? Not he, for proper care is generally taken to secure some way or other his £5000,—the creditors are the sufferers.

NATIONAL BANK.

A man who has £5000 should deposit £1000 in the National Bank at 5 per cent, and use the sum of £50 for the maintenance of his family, house, and shop, or if such sum should not be sufficient, let him deposit £2000, and have £100 per cent. on it. The other £3000 should be placed in the National Bank, which should be one over the whole country, with its representative branches in every town, and he should be then permitted to embark in business, and have £3000 worth of goods. As he can easily support himself from the interest of the £2000, his goods are a certain profit, and will be disposed of some time or other without injury to anybody. But in whatever he engages beyond £3000, is a visible risk of the property of others. A man that embarks in business with the surplus of his money, and can wait till he makes profit by it, is an honourable and upright merchant, but a man who lays out the whole of his money in business, and is obliged to sell his goods to meet his bills, or pay his family expenses, is not; and a man who takes more credit than he can pay at any given time, or even instantly, is not a merchant.

but an unprincipled speculator, -not a shopkeeper, but a goods-The overwhelming class of such speculators in every mercantile country is the principal cause of all mischief. A man may be honourable and upright himself, he may have the best intentions, but all this has nothing to do with his success, or his facilities in the disposal of his stock. He may not be able to sell, but he must pay for it—how then? By insuring his goods, and setting fire to them; or by carrying a mass of them secretly off, and becoming a bankrupt with the remainder? By depositing the part of his fortune intended for mercantile speculation in the National Bank, such amount would be known to all interested. He does not require to pay that money, but the creditor will learn that there is yet L.1500 of his own, whilst another half is engaged with another firm. The next creditor will learn that all his L.3000 are engaged, and if he wishes to give him credit, he must make a bona fide of it. The goods may fall in value, but there are so many grades in society, that there are purchasers at all times for any kind of goods; and even suppose they lose their value, it is not the purchaser, but the manufacturer, who should lessen the price.

This may be done by sending all the manufactured articles to one

GRAND DEPOT

of goods in the metropolis, and from thence all over the country. If a merchant cuts off a part of the goods from the whole piece, it should be considered his own, -he must sell and pay for it; but if the goods do not take at all, he will be allowed to send back the untouched pieces to the Grand Depot, and the manufacturer of it informed. Thus he will either lessen the price, or send it some where else for sale. Three and six month promissary bills are the greatest nonsense; a merchant should pay them directly, or have a full year's credit. His L.3000 will bring him a percentage of L.150 a-year, and stand as a guarantee that the goods shall be paid at the end of the year by the Bank, if the purchaser has not settled before. Should he then be unable to dispose of them, he will return them back, take other goods in their stead, to the same amount, and have another trial, or pay the part he sold, and exchange the remainder for other goods. He will therefore have the benefit of his money,

and a year's time for his business. A man has a right to speculate with his own, or risk it, but he has no right to risk the property of others. Such ought to be the rule of commerce and of credit; but now-a-days, it is all cheatery and craft. There are thousands upon thousands of speculators that have more goods than they can pay for, and this accounts for so many beautifully arranged bankrupteies. Thousands lay out their whole fortunes, and live upon the sale; whilst thousands have them entirely on credit, and thus it is that upon their success, but especially upon their good faith, depends the property, labour, and industry of others. If a man wishes to build houses, he must pay cash; so must another for building carriages, or factories, and they are perfectly satisfied with such arrangements, and so it ought to be in every business. To commence business, and take goods on credit, is a wrong principle altogether, and this causes the ruin of millions. This horrible practice is carried to such an extent in Great Britain, that the average annual bankruptcies, compositions, assignments, and insolvencies, amount to the enormous sum of £50,000,000 every year! What an awful sacrifice and loss to many! This shows the extent of speculation and mis-dealing among its inhabitants. Such kind of speculators, besides, are the meanest and most injurious class; they do not understand their profession, and work only to get money. They cannot afford credit in return to others, and charge more than respectable tradesmen for articles, the workmanship of which is shocking. They patch up their wares, and are the greatest nuisances to respectable dealers. class, chiefly, who become bankrupts.

By sending all manufactured goods to the Grand Depot, the average want of such goods would be known to a nicety—how much cloth, silk, leather, wool, &c., is required yearly; first at home, then abroad. This would set factories in regular play; there would be no hurry, no calling at one time thousands of hands to quick work, and then throwing them upon society as beggars and idlers. In such a depot the price of goods would be rightly valued and stamped—this would be fair play, independent of the caprice of a manufacturer, who often overcharges when credit is demanded. A merchant that gains only one penny in each shilling, or twenty pence in a pound, gains with his £5000, a profit of £416 a year. A cheap house and shop would therefore be of great service—and every body then would

be allowed credit. There will be no plea of bankruptcy, for if one could not dispose of his goods, he would be obliged to return them. Mercantile employment will then be an honest, upright business, and not swindlery. How many goods are sold now at one shilling that did not cost originally threepence! No wonder people are poor and uncomfortable.

MERCANTILE LAWS.

At present, commerce is left unprotected by the laws of the nations. A man gets his goods on credit, therefore he has nothing to lose; he sells them under the price he gave for them; he of course does not mean to pay his creditor. Suppose the creditor knows that the retail dealer is sending away large parcels by carrier in a manner quite inconsistent with the business of a retailer, and afterwards learns facts which convince him, as a man of business, that his debtor is about to cheat him, he runs to his solicitor, and the following conversation ensues:—

Client.—What can I do?

Solicitor.—Nothing—nothing effectual.

Client.—Can I arrest him?

Solicitor.—No! for in 1838 the legislature abolished arrest, and a debtor cannot be arrested, except it be proved he wishes to abscond. They used to run away from arrest, but now there is no arrest for them to run away from, so they stay where they are.

Client.—Can I bring an action against him?

Solicitor.—No! of no use, for the debtor may ask a friend to sue him—that friend's officers will be in his house before yours. He will make no defence to his friend, but to you. Your sheriff-officer must retire, and you only throw away good money seeking bad.

Client.—Can I make him bankrupt? He is a trader.

Solicitor.—No! since the abolition of arrest, you cannot force him to commit bankruptcy, for he will neither run away, nor shut himself up in his house, to prevent arrest, which deed, formerly, was a bankruptcy, and entitled you to a fiat and possession of property, but you cannot get it now.

Client.—Are there no other laws to replace arrest?

Solicitor.—Yes! in 1842, but if your debtor is a knave, and *swear that he has good defence to part of your demand, all falls to the ground, and you pay the costs.

Client.—Is there no redress whatever?

Solicitor.—None! If your debtor offers you five shillings per pound, take it—if only one penny, take it—if nothing, then rejoice that his next victim shall be somebody else.

Client.—Then all is lost?

Solicitor.—Yes! all is lost. And it will be ever so, until the laws of the country are changed.

How, now, is retail commerce protected by law, in the same country, under the title of small debts? Simply thus:—That if a man cannot pay a debt of L.3 or L.4, they make him pay for it L.6 or L.8, by way of summons, which, being served several times with additional expense each time, often comes to more than the debt itself;—and if the debtor should leave the town, he makes his creditor a loser; but if he stays in town, he has the vice versa of it, in which the creditor falls upon a debtor, seizes all his goods and property, and sells them by auction for nothing; doubles or trebles the debt by expenses, takes all the money himself, and leaves the other creditors most unjustly injured.

A debtor should be summoned by law, and all creditors called together. If he is an honest man, and have a chance in future, the town bank or his guarantee should pay all his creditors and keep his goods until he paid them by slow instalments, with due interest on the sum. If he is unfortunate and have no chance, his goods and property should be sold, and the sum equally divided amongst his creditors—but if he is a cheat, his property should be sold, each creditor paid part in proportion, and the debtor sent to the House of Support, where he should remain to be provided with work of any kind or nature, till he should earn sufficient to pay the remainder of his debt, and also expenses for board and lodging in the House of Support. Such laws would be justice, but now it is roguery. Sellers often entice buyers, and prevail on them to purchase goods, and then with a brazen cheek and erocodile's heart, fall on them, like wolves, and entirely ruin them. Hence the present commercial laws of this nation are stupid; but we cannot wonder, when we only think by whom they are made.

Every corporation should have a Bank of Credit, or Town Creditable Loan Society, under the superintendence of one of the aldermen of the corporation, who knowing the town and its inhabitants, could, in the first instance, advance sums of money,

upon a guarantee to those who may by accident be in difficulty, or who start in business; and by making such sums payable by monthly instalments, would enable many to commence business without requiring credit from merchants. In the second place, in regard to summonses, it should be arranged that after the case was settled by the jury, the debt with its costs and interest should be paid immediately to the creditor by the Bank of Credit; and after the debtor's position, means and income were justly examined, he should have to pay it by slow instalments, divided for the whole year round; and that the complainant, as well as the defendant, must pay half of the law expenses. a plan would put an end to many troubles endured now, for the creditor will know that whatever his amount might be, he must wait for it all the year round, and that he cannot issue a summons before the expiry of six months from the delivery of his goods;—and the debtor will know that he must pay them in one year, and that he shall be sued for it until paid, no matter what other town he should go to, and both will know that they must pay the expenses of the law.

Yet the law should protect all alike, the rich and the poor, the honest and the wicked,—for the wicked may become honest, but while he is persecuted and oppressed, he grows worse, more hardened and impudent. Such protection and help of both creditor and debtor may be arranged by wise laws, in the following manner:—If the debtor is incapable to pay his whole debt, he should not suffer for it, nor the creditor be the loser. Imprisonment of the former is a dishonourable act to all parties. A man may be honest, yet unfortunate; he thus should not suffer the prison. The latter, who trusts him with goods, has no right to throw him into a jail; and the judge (who, as a mediator, should find the means of help) has no right to annul a creditor's just right, nor deprive a debtor of his liberty, which he has not given to him. The law should pronounce, in such a case. that the debtor must pay interest of 5 per cent. to the creditor, as long as the debt remains unpaid. The debtor, therefore, will become a bank to the creditor, who, having trusted different people with L.500 will receive yearly his L.25. To pay the whole debt may be difficult, but to pay the interest, and the debt partly, by instalments, will be nothing to a debtor, who will always be able to fill up some situation, and if he is quite incapable of paying, he must retire to the House of Sup-

port, and work there for the interest, if for no more. There are and will be bad men who have bad principles, who do not mind to cheat by stratagem, or live in prison. But this does not pay the creditor, who is the loser. To prevent this, every town should have its House of Support, which does not mean a place of shame or disgrace, but a place of help, where those who enter, shall be boarded, lodged, and provided with work, as much as they would choose to work, to clear themselves out of This would prevent many from seeking credit, which, in general, is only a disorderly mania; for those who cannot pay directly, generally never pay at all. People, then, will not dare to take advantage of public money in loans, whilst now they do not scruple to serve individuals so; for such loans will be given from corporations, who shall have communications over the whole country, and the law will sue a man for his debt, in any other town, until paid-the residence of such men being easily learned by police, or through the telegraphs; and if he choose to abscond to America or India, it would be to the great benefit of the country to lose such a man, though he may be easily traced there. Such a regulation would secure commerce,-there will be no impositions, for bad debtors would be metamorphosed into good banks.

LAWYERS.

Not only commerce, but landed property, is so badly protected, that it gives birth to thousands of swindlers, who encumber society. What the European laws are, was stated at the beginning. Let us now hear what definition an Englishman gives of the lawyers of his own country:—

"As the world goes, the inns of court are regarded as the honoured mansions of highly respectable men—respectable in the most accepted and west-end sense of that very conventional term; for most of them keep gigs and mount hobby-horses. It is an unfortunate condition of their respectability, indeed, that it has its foundation in the vices, folly, and knavery of mankind, and that it derives its very existence from the worst human passions.

"What are the lawyer and attorney on either side of each contested case, but men regularly hired to make the worse ap-

pear the better reason, and to thwart substantial justice by the interposition of some legal exception, or some specious sophism?

"What is a judge, but the tenant of a wig, to be puzzled by dexterous ingenuity, and confused by his own narrow range of

thought, and contracted reflection?

"What is a jury, but twelve unhappy men imprisoned in a box, to be bamboozled by a couple of talking conjurors, and lustled out of the little intellect they possess by a corps of sleight-of-hand logicians? Those sea-pirates and land-sharks, the attorneys and solicitors, the base encouragers of every antiquated prejudice, and the sycophant advocates of every unjust prerogative, by their union and influence, have hitherto succeeded in quashing every important attempt to improve and simplify the law!"

BANKS.

Not long ago the Prime Minister of England stated the particulars respecting the general and frequent failures of banking companies. As nearly a hundred banking houses fell in a few years, at an average of about twenty each year, it proves that private speculations are dangerous, and whatever branch of commerce they touch, they rot and disorder it; and although they have plunged in misery so many victims already, the people will support the system. It was further proved that the bankers, overspeculating with the public money, allowed themselves a credit beyond their real means, and being unable to pay the increasing demands, lost all their previous profits, and ruined thousands of industrious inhabitants.

The whole nation should have but one National Bank, under the protection and guarantee of government, with its respective branches in all towns, under the control of corporations, to facilitate deposits, withdrawals, and exchanges. Then money will be under public control, and any proposed speculations will be examined, debated, and ascertained, and their nature and extent made known to the depositors. Then the money shall not be lost,—but now, who knows the nature and the extent of the private undertakings of companies? Nobody but themselves; and all being strictly secret, and the money not theirs, they do not look forward for a certainty, but speculate, risk, and lose all.

This is another class of men who, like a sharp rod, scourge every now and then the innocent members of society. They should be done away with, and like naughty boys, put in a corner for penance, and the whole public funds and fortunes thrown into the National Bank, under the protection of the people, the control of corporations, and the guarantee of a wise government, but not in the purse of Master this or that. Such a National Bank would never fail.

CLERKS.

Taking a general view of mankind, and especially the commercial communities, everybody seems to be very busy, or every one says he is very busy, although there is more than half of their time in which they positively do nothing. The shops are thrown open early in the morning, and generally remain so for fourteen hours each day. Such time is generally styled business, consumes the whole of the day, and leaves only but a few hours for rest and sleep. The monotonous life of a clerk, who leaves his bedroom for the shop, and the shop for his bedroom, and has always the same employment round and round, must act upon his moral powers disadvantageously, and check the development of them. Why a man should be forced to such a life,—why he should be buried in his garret lodgings and his shop, entirely debarred from the rest of society, not permitted to enjoy its refined pleasures, is very strange, for there is not the least occasion for it. All this is the result of the private greediness and avarice of men who, striving to undersell each other, expose their wares as long as they possibly can, and thus tyrannise over the other class of men, imprison them in cages, and chain them to counters; and the habit is so old and strong, that those who would not follow the monstrous practice. would no doubt be the losers. Yet there are hours after hours spent behind the counters in a gaping mood. Reading or writing is strictly forbidden; thinking, considered still worse. Why are the banks and government offices opened at ten and shut up at four?-making only six hours! Why are there restrictions in certain towns to shut at certain hours! Because it is no use to torment and weary men without reason. That numerous class of men-clerks-generally with good incomes, what are they to society !- ignorant, well dressed, cigar con-

sumers, and Sunday lovers. How solitary and circumscribed is They do not patronise arts nor sciences. library consists of a few songs. They do not patronise trade. A suit of warehouse clothes is enough; and any scientific instruction is of no use in the shop. Their fourteen hours of standing behind the counter, makes them so weary that they cannot have taste nor desire for any mental or social recreation. And above all, they are looked upon by others as inferior. They dare not go to any place of respectability, where they may meet with Massa Governor,-it may cost them their situation; and so they care for nobody, because nobody cares for them. one knows the business is over in banks and government offices after four o'clock, and all the world is perfectly satisfied. men knew they could buy nothing before ten nor after four, they would be quite satisfied also. Therefore the people should make a law to establish such organization, for six hours in one day are sufficient to sell the half of any shop, and to replenish it again. This is a downright tyranny of the shop aristocracy, which injures greatly the whole of society. It injures first, by annulling and checking the education, and subduing the moral powers of the country. A young boy of eight or nine years of age, that can hardly read or write, is chained to the shop, to expand his intellect in the knowledge of the different heights and geographical positions of different parcels—the historical name of the manufacturer—and the symbols of prices; and to exercise himself by shifting them up and down. A young clerk has the avocation of an anatomist, to examine and show the insides of Indian or African silks, and to talk to people tales and nonsense to induce them to purchase. And what are manners, industry, law, or learning to them? Nothing. What care they for establishments or charitable institutions? What care they for books or paintings, that form our ideas and sentiments? Nothing. Their motives are selfish, their knowledge limited; for the tolerably handsome payments go either thoughtlessly, or are amassed for a start, that will ruin several by their failure. Hence the numerous bankrupteies is the result of ignorance of the duties of a citizen and a merchant-ignorance of society-of their own nation. And lastly, numerous and respectably born as clerks are, they remain a perfect cipher in their nation. have no share, no title in its improvements or regulations, and are indifferent spectators of whatever passes, right or wrong, no

matter,-for they do not understand, neither could mix in or

support any public movement.

All the shops should be shut at four o'clock afternoon; and if such were to be the law, every one should regulate his business accordingly, and be quite satisfied. The clerks then will not only have time for instruction, home labour and amusement, but they would transform themselves into a most respectable circle of society; they would spend money manly, patronise arts and institutions, and have plenty of time to improve and enrich themselves, to insure the comfort of their worn out days. They would add greatly to the respectability of society—they would form a class of men in an improved and more enlightened condition, whose etiquette, knowledge, morals, and manners, would increase the happiness and harmony of the nation; but their present unfortunate and neglected state deprives every country of so much decent, agreeable, and interesting young men-and then the nations grumble that they cannot come to any reasonable conclusion. And how can they expect otherwise, with its silly inhabitants? What a dull concern are all private parties and soirces now. The young men will not, for they cannot speak at all. What know they of Astronomy, Geology, Natural History, or Botany, these unexhausted resources of agreeable and amusing conversation? What know they of historians and poets, that elegant manner of sounding each other's feelings? Nothing at all. They can neither sing nor dance, hardly dare they move from their seat. And how, and when are they to study such accomplishments. Where is the time for practice? In the morning before six, or in the evening after nine, whilst exhausted? And can we expect early closing from avaricious and ignorant private speculators, who wish only to emancipate and enrich their own class, and monopolise their own follies? No! Can it be obtained by wise laws, or by the interposition of a virtuous and good government? Yes!

WORKING-MEN.

Omitting other branches of social employments, for a large book is a great evil, let us, lastly, consider the class of workingmen. The ability of each man, or his labour, is the treasure which ought to maintain him. Some must work through means of moral faculties, others through the use of physical ones; for if all were to write or sow, who would kill the ex. Allowing every man is entitled to do his best, and gain as much as possible. let us remember that fairness of dealing must be the basis; for an advantage permitted to one man, or one class, in some way or other, entitles another man or another class to an advantage in another shape; and if we should be allowed to take such advantages over each other, where would be the order, harmony and peace of mankind. Nature has endowed a man with superior intellect in order to act differently. Besides she placed men dependent on each other's help. Labour, therefore, is the means of our existence, it is a primogeniture property, which no one should dare to wrest from its owner. Man's first necessity is his food, and those who work hard must have that food substantial to maintain their health and strength. A labouring man in every country, to be able to work well and have sound strength and health, must have daily one pound of meat, three pounds of bread, two quarts of good beverage, and some vegetables. which in every country cost about two shillings a-day. Without that he is hungry. Such daily expenditure comes only to L.36 a-year, and a man who through his labour and ability is not able to gain that for his maintenance, is below the horse or cow -he is a brute. Admitting, now, that his humble domicile costs him only L.5 a-year, and his unpresuming garments L.10, it shows that without L.50 per year, or one pound a-week, one cannot live without feeling wretched and miserable. Taking now Great Britain for an example, her population would require L.25,000,000 per week, or L.1,300,000,000 per annum to prevent misery and starvation. Admitting now that the half of its population are little children, whose wants, when kept by parents, amount to a mere trifle, a sum of L.650,000,000 is requisite to the happiness of its people. Deducting from it the fourth part of L.50 per year for clothing, or a fourth part of the whole yearly expense of L.1,300,000,000, which is L.325,000,000—the real sum requisite for food will be L.325,000,000, requiring thus L.100,000,000 worth of cattle or ten thousand pieces; L.100,000,000 worth of flour; L.100,000,000 worth of beverage; and L.25,000,000 worth of vegetables. The land of Great Britain is quite capable of producing such an amount, and why is there such misery? Simply because it is not well disposed; great portions of it lying unused; because its sale and purchase are left to private speculation; and men will not part with it until their unreasonable greediness and overrated demands

are satisfied. It would be an easy task for the government-if they had control over it-to secure, from farmers, this quantity of food every year, through agents, for the national granary, with its branches in every town-and when years of scarcity came (which, by looking out, might easily be foreseen), to arrange for a supply from such countries which are not so populated, and which would exchange their corn for goods or manufactures. What is the use of a reduction of prices, or opening the ports for free importation, if monopolised sea-pirates bombard all coming vessels with cartridges of sovereigns, and then lock up the corn, like relies, in their citadel granaries, and put on it shameful and exorbitant prices? Why should not government buy them by contracts, and resell them from the national granary at a proper price, and a small interest to the corporations of towns, which will have town granaries, and those, nearly at the same price, to their needy inhabitants. It would be more honourable to the indolent and spendthrift governments to employ themselves, and labour manly for their revenue, and get the interest for such an industrious amusement, than crave meanly, like beggars, for pensions to their idle families and endless relations. It would be more honourable to the people to support national and town granaries, and honest government officers, than to be dupes and victims to rapacity and cheatery, and be, as the people of all nations are, a stupid flock of sheep, harassed and tormented by the wolf and the butcher, the monopolist and corn dealer. The profits of it would be left in the hands of government, ever ready to serve and assist the people, whilst now it flows to private parties, ever greedy and averse to any accommodation but their own.

As a single man requires one pound per week, for his maintenance in Great Britain; one Louis d'or in France; one ducat in Poland, and so on comparatively. One pound, therefore, for the maintenance of a family, amounting to five or six, is out of the question. But cannot working-men and their families earn more than one pound a week? Ought they not? Ah! Do they not? There is the rub. They may, and they already do, but their labour does not receive its full value nor deserved price, and hence they only receive the third part of it.

To prove this, let us take, for instance, any European workingman of any trade whatsoever, for the regulations and impositions are exactly the same over all Europe, and what 20 shillings are to an Englishman, 20 francs are to a Frenchman, 20 gulden to a German, 20 florins to a Pole, and so on. Let us therefore take a Leicester weaver first, as the nearest to us.

When a weaver works hard from six in the morning till nine at night, he can make four pairs of woollen socks, or two dozen per week. For one pair of socks he receives 23d. Thus he earns daily 11d., and weekly, 5s. 6d. Out of this he pays 1s. per week of rent for the frame-for footing and sewing two dozen, 7d. He breaks one fourth of a hundred of needles, which he must provide, and which cost him 2d. weekly, and 1d. for candle; therefore, deducting 1s. 10d., the profits left him for a week's hard labour is 3s. 8d. Suppose that his wife (who must devote a great deal of time to cooking, washing, and her children), and even some of those feeble and young children, could help him, they would be hardly able together to do as much as the father does: but suppose they do, and make another two dozen, and gain another 3s. 8d., it is evident that the whole family must work hard to gain only 7s. 4d. a week. Out of this they must pay the rent of their house, at least 2s, per week, and 1s, for another frame, required for wife and children to work upon. leaves to all of them, four or five in number, 4s. 4d. a week for their sustenance! Such a weaver may work ten years without being able to purchase the frame; and therefore he pays 2s. weekly, (and if it is for stockings, 3s. per week) or L.5, 4s. a year. In ten years this comes to L.52! while the frame is not worth L.5 or L.6! There was a society formed to buy them such frames, and receive payment by slow instalments, but the Leicester aristocrats of money, to their eternal disgrace, refused to employ those who did not hire it from their factory; and linked themselves so strongly against the poor wretches, that if a workman of Mr A.'s left him, Mr B. and Mr C. would not employ him-and so on, thus leaving no alternative, but to remain with Mr A., no matter his cruelty. Such money should be taken from these poor slaves by instalments, and two years would pay the frames.

Now such a pair of socks cost originally as follows:—One and a half pounds of raw wool costs 1s.; making it into thread, 3d.; so finished, it is called worsted cotton sleeps, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. or 24 ounces costs 1s. 3d. From two ounces of such sleeps, a stocking-weaver makes one pair of socks, and thus from $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. a dozen pairs. Thus—

One and a half pound of worsted cotton sleeps costs	1s. 3d.
Making it into a dozen pairs of socks, .	2s. 9d.
For footing and finishing,	0s. 3d.

Thus making a dozen pairs of finished wool socks, 4s. 3d.

These are sold in the shops for 18s. or 1s. 6d. a pair, which originally cost $4\frac{9}{4}$ d.

A dozen of pairs would cost, . . . 7s. 6d.

Or, trebling the wages of the first man, from
Do. of second man, from
Do. of third man, from
Os. 3d. to 0s. 9d.
2s. 9d. to 8s. 3d.
0s. 3d. to 0s. 9d.

A dozen pairs would cost, 10s. 9d.

Now, lessening the price of stockings from 18s. a dozen, or 1s. 6d. a pair, to 13s. a dozen, or 1s. 1d. a pair, the three workingmen may yet have their wages trebled from 3s. 3d. to 9s. 9d., and the profit for selling a dozen pairs will be 2s. 3d., or for one thousand, £112, 10s.; and the dozen of them, instead of 18s. will be only 13s. This proves that a pair of socks which cost originally 43d., are sold for 1s. 6d. Who gets the profit? men that labour hard? No! Speculators. I challenge here all England to deny the fact. It follows that 125 such stockingweavers, each of them making eight dozen per month, or all of them 1000 pairs per month, would afford to the manufactory of the town, L.525 a month, or L.6825 per year, with trebled wages; whilst now, from their poor carnings, they give their employers L.687, 10s. per month, or L.8937, 10s. per year. And we see that 500 of such stocking-weavers yield yearly to their employers, a profit of L.35,748! But the misery of a stockingweaver goes still further. He has no time to run for wool to the factory, and waste his time in waiting for the saucy foreman there; so the manufacturers put on their necks another burden -the bagman, who is another leach to suck them, for the delivery of sleeps, and receipt of finished stockings. Leicester money aristocracy may frown upon the aristocrats of

Russia for flogging their serfs, but here we have gallant civilians starving those who make their fortunes. This surpasses the inhumanity of any barbarian. The case is the same with the stocking-weaver as it is with the sock-weaver. He can only make one dozen and a half of stockings, and receives for it 7s. 6d. His footing is 1s. instead of 7d. and his frame 2s. instead of 1s. So it leaves him only 4s. 3d. a week, or just 2d. more, while the work is harder.

The particular examination of the branch of stocking-weavers may be easily applied to all other branches of manufactures, with the same result, namely, that the money got for the articles does not go for the benefit of the producer, or working-man, but to enrich speculators and mediators. This may be ascertained by any one who would take the trouble to inquire in the proper quarter. These details are not published, as it would increase the bulk of the work, yet (to make a long story short) if a proper arrangement of labour was made, and proper prices set upon all the articles, the price of them would run as follows:—

MANCHESTER, LEEDS, IRELAND,	"	Silk sold : Satin, ,, Cloth, ,, Linen, ,,	at £0 1 0	8 0 15 4	0 0	would be got for	£0 0 0 0	_	6 9 8 4	
London,	Carpets,	, ,,	0	5	0	**	()	1	7	
NORTHAMPTON,	Pair of Bo		1	5	0	"	O	8	6	
BIRMINGHAM,	An Oil Lai		2	10	0	"	0	18	0	
SHEFFIELD,	Set of Kniv	ves and Fo	rks, 2	0	0	,,	0	12	0	
London,	Gold Wate		10	10	()	22	7	()	0	
	Silver Wat		4	0	0	"	1	2	0	
	Gold Chain	ıs, ,,	6	6	0	"	3	0	O	
	Bread,	"	0	0	4	,,	0	0	1	
	Ale,	22	0	()	6	,,	0	0	$1\frac{3}{4}$	
	Beef,	,,	0	0	6	22	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	

and so on, whilst the wages of all labourers would be trebled from the same prices.

A beautiful manufactory, with all necessary machinery and requisites, with its land, may be built by the corporation of the town for L.6000 or L.7000, whilst the profits of the first year, from 500 workmen, would bring L.35,748. As all of them would be free from expense of rents for frames, sewings, light and broken needles, a stocking-weaver would receive treble wages, 16s. 6d., which, doubled by his family, will amount to L.1, 13s. per week.

To dwell upon such a gloomy and dark picture of human misdealings, yields no pleasure to us, yet I permit myself to state,

that through such particular examinations I could carry a Manchester weaver and Paisley shawl-maker, a Leeds cloth-dyer, a Liverpool linen-maker, a Northampton tanner, and so on, and prove that the yard of silk which is sold for 7s. or 8s. costs only 2s. 6d., and that satin, which is sold for L.1, costs originally 4s. 3d.; that Paisley shawls, that cost 15s, or 16s, are sold for L.5. or L.6; that boots charged at one guinea, may be easily got for 8s. 6d.; and yet the makers of such articles, without exception, will have their wages trebled. But the monstrous imposition does not finish here. Like an emboldened highwayman in barren lands, it darts upon the barren minds of society. It goes as follows. Six different articles, no matter of what sort, are manufactured of raw materials. The worst material costs least, and less is paid for the workmanship of it. The better material, wholesale, costs only a trifle more, and the payment for its workmanship is but slightly increased. Now, for instance, let it be six porcelain cups, or six hats, or six pair of socks, let us represent them as follows:-

Titles,	Cheap.	Bargain.	New.	Elegant.	India.	Real British.
Articles,	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Real Cost,	4d.	4 1 d.	6d.	$6\frac{1}{2}d.$	8d.	9d.
Shop Price,	4d.	6d.	10d.	1s. 6d.	2s. 4d.	3s. 6d.

All these articles cost together, 3s. 2d. and when they are sold, bring the sum of 9s. thus giving a profit of 5s. 10d.

But the last article sold, alone brings 3s. 6d., pays all, and leaves a profit of 2d., though the rest should not be sold. The poor people then wonder how it can be made so cheap. It really looks beautiful! so glossy! Of course they are ignorant, and do not know that it is well gummed, starched, or stiffened; in one word, some way or other, dressed. The shopman, who is drilled to prattle like a parrot, asserts positively that it is below what it cost them. People buy, and it goes to pieces in no time, like all artificials, and mending it costs more than the article itself. The rich people, then, who are generally very stupid, and know no more of commerce than they do of the moon, sceing how cheap the inferior articles are, buy the best, and pay for all!

A lady (an aristocrat of money, of course) rolls her carriage before a shop. All the clerks, like soldiers that hear an alarm drum, start upon their legs. Master is called down. There is a great bustle in the shop,—all the goods are shown and reshown, like a salad upon a dish; satins, muslins, silks, cashmeres,

are put upon counters. The purchase is made—L.50 cash paid. Master runs to two or three hotels,—praises the beauty of horses. What horses? Why! lady so-and-so called on me. Such a splendid equipage! He calls for a bottle of port or sherry. The clerks talk about the respectability of the shop. Of course, they got a bird, and plucked its tail. She paid for the remaining other five qualities. An errand boy is dressed up, and the goods dispatched, and he is as active as if he were an aid-de-camp on the field of Waterloo. Yet let us treble the wages of the working-men, and we will see the great difference it will make on trade. Instead of one pompous money noble spending L.50, there shall be 200 unpresuming creatures, spending 10s. each, and doubling the trade and its employers.

Such is the system in all branches of trade, of which any one doubting may easily convince himself, by proper inquiries. It is the policy of commerce to give certain goods at a very low price, to tempt buyers, and make them believe that the workmanship and materials for others come to much more, although in reality, the difference is but a trifle; the articles,

besides, that are sold low, are good for nothing.

How, therefore, can working-men subsist? Why do not the people petition government to open factories, and employ men under the superintendence of corporations? They could afford better pay; for all the profits would be accumulated in the hands of government, under the disposal of corporations. Such riches would not be used in private speculation, but for the benefit of the industrious inhabitants of various towns. Wages would increase; the price of articles would fall. What bliss! what order!

PENSIONING OF WORKMEN.

From such trebled wages every working-man would be obliged to deposit every week 1s. or 1s. 6d. in the Town Savings Bank; and if his conduct was good, and he worked diligently, after twenty years he would be entitled to half pay, and after thirty years, to full pay, for the remainder of life. Little as 1s. 6d. per week appears, it makes L.3, 18s. in a year, and, in twenty years, with compound interest, amounts nearly to L.200. In ten years more, it comes nearly to L.500. What a difference then would be in society! What heartless wretches would not

past generations appear to future ones! Such arrangements would be made before a man would be received into the corporation factory.

Why does not government form such an army of working-men? It would be honourable to them, and far more beneficial to the nation, than an army of soldiers. Why does not government sanction such an undertaking, and lend money to corporations to build such factories, which would become another source of national riches? Why do not the people ask their representatives to help them from misery and starvation? Have they no tongues, no hands? "Knock and they shall open to you." Those who have already made their fortunes, should thank providence, and step forward to benefit others. But many of them have no more conscience than the bricks.

Under such a system, money will flow to the national treasury, for the benefit of those who made it. Misery, poverty, and pauperism, will be banished from earth, for every man will have his pensions for life. Men will be good and industrious, for the laws will be at their back. The cleanliness of the poor will be secured, their health cared for, their comfort improved. And what shall society lose, if, instead of having so many vagabonds, beggars, and idlers, they will have so many decent and respectable men,-such a refined community and gentry? They will all work better and more heartily than they do now. What honour is it for governments to rule and command millions of ragamuffins, fed on porridge or nettles,-naked skeletons of the human race? It would afford greater honour and wider fame to govern well-fed, dressed, and educated men, than to hear the abusive groans of an ignorant and drunken mob. Let us remember how many millions of them are strangers to comfort, happiness, and morality, and although their whole time from sunrise to sunset is spent in the production of exquisite beauties and luxuries, they live in huts not good enough for pigs, and in a position far worse than negro slaves. After their hard labour is over, they return to their miserable huts, sit down on broken chairs, and having swallowed their mean and scanty victuals, thrown on an old tottering table, lay themselves down in a filthy rotten bed, by the sides of their "better halves," to get a rest and gain new strength in order to produce on the morrow rich embroidered silk stockings or waistcoats, which their miserable backs shall never wear!

WORKING-WOMEN.

We arrive now at a very important point, namely, the em-They stand in a still worse position than ployment of women. men, by the weakness of their physical power, which under the present system is not capable to maintain their existence; and the utter neglect of their education, drives them to misery. Speculators rush on at such a maddened speed to undersell each other that they positively reduce labour to nothing. For instance, they prevailed upon the stocking-makers to work at their houses instead of the factory, to oppose the manufacturers, and thus they fell victims to the speculators, whose frames and bagmen they must pay, and, with other expenses attached to it, they have reduced them to the utmost misery. Men are very fond to call women their better halves; but, on examining attentively society, we find they have just the very worst of it. The wives and daughters of the workers are in a worse condition than in China or Turkey. The factory girls are ignorant beings, shebrutes, irreligious, vulgar and dirty. They begin while young to work in factories, and their poverty, on account of little wages, (only 3s. to 4s. a-week) tempts them to vice, and as early as could possibly be imagined they fall victims to the brutal passions of ignorant or designing seducers; and, since shame banishes them from their friends, they lead in future a degenerate life in society. If such factories were under government or corporations, such girls would not be admitted to work before finishing their studies. Their salaries would be so far reasonable as to afford them, not only a sufficient and comfortable maintenance near their families, but would enable them to deposit a trifle weekly in the town savings bank to procure them independence in their worn-out days. The numerous articles of tedious and exquisite handiwork that they provide society with, entitle them to a better remuner-With good education and wages they could be made decent and respectable members of society, but now their wretchedness is beyond description. They are called vulgar, but society forgets that they are vulgarised by the vulgarity of the higher classes, who sacrifice every principle and sentiment for the sake of gain, and have reduced woman, that finest creature of heaven, to the lowest degradation. The same is the case with all servant girls, as will be afterwards shown. Such women, whilst young,

should be educated, well drilled in domestic affairs, and then sent to service. They should know marketing and cooking, as well as washing and other domestic duties. Their employers should be bound to pay out of their wages (which at present are extremely low) a small part to the town savings bank for future independence. If a servant, or a factory girl, should lose her situation through illness or misfortune, and not through neglect or bad conduct, she should be protected, free lodgings given her, and employment sufficient to maintain her until some other situation should be offered to her in one of the town bazaars established for such purposes. But now how are they treated, paid

or helped? They lead a loose life, and poison society.

All sorts of working-men and women should be employed and regulated by the corporations of towns, and belong to the town factories, and thus become servants to the public, rather than depend upon the caprice of malicious private parties, against whose cruelty or injustice they can only complain to heaven, which they unfortunately do not know. Such working-men and women would enrich the funds of the town, whose treasury would be used for their subsequent employment. One corporation may inform the other of the want or surplus of hands, and thus supply either themselves or others. But what private company would give themselves this trouble? None. The corporations should jointly, from a mutual communication concentrated in the metropolis, decide what work should next be started for the unemployed, and where are immediate openings. The board of commerce in the metropolis will inform them of the amount of orders received from foreign lands, and the amount required at home, and the quantity and quality of it. Men may be used very conveniently for two or three trades, which they shall learn as explained under "Education," and things may be so arranged that all of them should be constantly employed and such an uninterrupted employment would be to them a real blessing. But such a regulation and arrangement can only be made under a good, honest, and wise government, whose superintendence over corporations, and those over the inhabitants, must be linked strongly, and supported unanimously. Instead, therefore, of enriching the purses of individuals, which they pretend are always empty, instead of being at the mercy of mountebanks, or wheedled by quacks-ye men of industry and sense! ve working bees of society! ve unprotected herd, who

have wandered so long and far in a golden desert!—muster your courage; collect your thoughts; open your eyes, and learn to lean on your own strength, and not on reeds that a breath of wind can break. Elect such members of parliament and of corporations as is proposed—treat them with dignity and full remuneration, and you shall make a heaven of this barren and distressed earth.

Provisions.

The traffic in provisions engages, in all nations, the most numerous class of inhabitants. An overwhelming number of mediators have thrown themselves most eagerly into that arena; for let us have what we will, we must eat to live. When provisions become scarce and dear, the farmers laugh in their sleeves, the rich men laugh also, and call misery nonsense, while the people suffer in masses. Such dearness and scarcity cause great suffering amongst nations, but particularly in Great Britain, the very country which, by altering the present injurious system, would become the richest country in the world. But it seems nobody thinks of it, and all suffer the enormous inconvenience, as if it were impossible to redress it. Let us examine, first, the consequences of the dearness of provisions in England. English manufacturers or merchants buy their raw material abroad, for which they pay the same sum that a German or Frenchman does—and having brought it home, they all start to work. Suppose they are cloth manufacturers, -they bought wool in Saxony, sufficient to make 10,000 yards, to perform which, requires 100 men to labour four weeks. An Englishman, on account of dearness of provisions, must pay his men one pound weekly; for four weeks he must pay L.400, to have his 10,000 finished; --whilst a Frenchman or German pays his labourers only 10s., for which they can live far better and more comfortable, because of the cheapness of provisions, lodgings, &c., and thus the making of his 10,000 yards will cost him only L.200. they then go together to a foreign market, (admitting the voyage to cost the same, although French or German vessels will sail always cheaper, for they have less wages to pay on account of the cheapness of their provisions), the French and German merchants will be able to sell their 10,000 yards, of equally good and fine cloth, L.200 cheaper than the Englishman.

When England had exclusively the command and use of its machinery, it was all well enough, but now that they are building them speedily in France and Germany, it is quite a different thing. It was the avarice of British merchants that opened the eyes of strangers; for not satisfied with fortunes made at home, and desirous of more profit, they went abroad to build their factories there at less expense, and supported foreigners in them, because they had to pay them less. In fifty years, England will feel the consequences of this. With respect to home consumption and goods, it is nearly the same, for foreigners, after paying an enormous tax, can sell here both cheaper and better. It is of no use to talk lightly upon the subject, and boast that England can do more in a month, than all the rest of the nations in one year. What is the use of goods when the people have no money to purchase them? The very quickness of the execution is a misfortune to the country, for at one time it overworks thousands, whilst at another they have nothing to do. Besides, other nations have shown sufficiently their resolution to oppose England.

It is a most singular thing that England, which has the best chance of any nation under the canopy of heaven to become rich, seems so deafened with the hocus-pocus whirl and whiz of their machinery, that they quite overlook the opportunity of becoming so, by the very reduction of provisions, which they dread so much. Suppose that on lowering provisions, wages and incomes were lowered-what of that? If a working-man could have then for his 10s, what he is obliged to pay 20s, for at present-if a gentleman could support his family and house for L.100 a-year exactly in the style for which he now pays L.200if a nobleman's income from his land were reduced one half, but if his carriage and horses, his servants, &c., cost only half-it would be exactly the same, for so it is on the whole Continent now. Money is only the readiest and most convenient mode of exchange for articles. It has its standard value, for it never changes, and gold and silver have the same value over the whole of society. Why is an English sovereign (or twenty shillings) worth a French Louis d'or and 5s. besides-or 25 francs? Why is the first worth two German or Polish ducats in gold, or 40 florins in silver? because gold and silver are always gold and silver, and as English coins are made of purer gold and silver, they are better than any other coin. For one English sovereign they give

in France 25 francs, with which one may purchase much more goods, no matter what they are, than for 25s. in England, and one English sovereign, or 20s, in Poland, is as good as two ducats or 40 florins; and for one florin there, one may get nearly twice as much as for one shilling in England. Why is it so? Just in consequence of the cheapness of provisions. Cannot. therefore, England see, that by lowering provisions, that is, by putting them upon the same value and level as on the Continent, the whole country doubles its gold and silver, and all men who have current coin in their hands would be worth exactly double the amount. What rich man would lose if the poor man was able to buy for 10s. what he must now pay 20s. for? It will only expand dealings. And what will poor men lose though the rich ones be worth double what they now are ?—it will be to their benefit and the extension of commerce. To introduce it into practice is the easiest matter. Suppose the government lowered the price of provisions, and called all the cash into the bank. The mint strikes new coin, and changing one side of a sovereign calls it a doublon, and gives it the value of 40s; and performing the same with half a sovereign, calls it a sovereign, and gives it the value of 20s., the same with crowns, calling them 10s. pieces, and half-crowns, crown-pieces, and so on-or by admixing with a crown another metal, making two of the same shape and size, and the same with half-a-crown, calling it a crown. Why is the Russian ruble, which is somewhat larger than the English crown, and valued in Russia at 6s. 8d., worth only 3s. 4d. in England? Because, like the rest of the Continental coins, it contains a great quantity of zinc and copper. But for a ruble in Russia, one may get three times more than for a crown in England. No imposition can take place, for every one bringing his sovereign to the bank will receive the same sized doublon, and for his crown he will get two of the same size, but of inferior silver.

The debts shall stand in the same position, for the debtor that owed £100 shall owe still a hundred pounds, but he will pay with new sovereigns, which although different in appearance, will have the same value, and procure the same articles. If such debtor happened to have the money due in cash, of course by exchanging his old sovereigns for new ones he will gain double, yet in paying his debt with the new sovereigns he will not injure his creditors, for he will give him exactly the amount for which he can buy the same quantity and quality as he could with the old one.

So all who have cash will double their fortunes, and those who have it not shall lose nothing. The bank notes will remain in statu quo as they were, for they only represented so many

pounds or shillings.

This is a benignant idea, and prevents the scheme from giving offence. The plan shows clearly that this great social reform is calculated to offend no one, to injure no party. The manufacturers, who might have frowned upon government for building factories, and supporting working-men; the bankers and capitalists, who might have regarded the government as a dark cloud, pregnant with thunders, that were going to disarm their weapons and displace them from the fortified rock of private speculation; the landlords (noticed under the head of "Building of Houses") who might have considered themselves losers, and opposed the measure, must all bow here with reverence and joy to such a government, which now, rapidly and wonderfully in one day, by a single stroke of the pen, doubles magically those treasures which cost them so many years of anxiety, of speculation and risk.

England, having thus doubled her gold and silver, will stand in regard to riches far above other nations of the world, and in regard to provisions, upon perfect equality with foreigners, which will enable her people to live as cheap as upon the Continent. Then England may expect, with the help of her numerous and well regulated factories, to realise her ardent desire, which is only a dream now, of an indisputable sovereignty over commerce. This is, besides, the first way by which government can obtain enormous riches, by taking care that at the time of such a change a great amount of bullion should be in its hands. The nation will learn then that the tremendous riches of the money aristocracy is not in gold nor silver, but in their promissory and exchange bills. The nation should strongly support such a plan, as it is the surest and most powerful means to disband such aristocracy. Government now can easily spend its revenues, but then it would be impossible to spend its millions upon millions, except by spreading it to good purposes amongst all classes of society, in accordance with the laws, which must ensure the general welfare and happiness of the whole country. government, then, will exhaust its treasures, not upon parties congenial to their views, but upon propositions of corporations, petitioned by the inhabitants, and neither of them would be able

to avail themselves of any pecuniary advantages. Such governments ought to be allowed to create their titulary friends, counts, barons, and so on, to give more charm and greatness to their existence. But citizens who signalise themselves by industry, inventions, honesty, and good service, ought to be rewarded by the nation, and have their castles, fortunes, and titles given to them for life, to encourage virtue. Such government and such corporations, with treasures in their hands, will be capable to annul the taxes upon provisions, which are a great disgrace to any civilised country, and unless England will place herself in a position to produce goods for foreign markets at the same prices with foreigners, when the great quantity of machinery, now in progress abroad, shall be accomplished, she can only expect that bankruptcy and ruin will shortly visit her.

EMIGRATION.

Poverty drives many away to foreign lands. The people exile themselves willingly, to escape the death of starvation. What glory is that to any country? what honour to its government? How many emigrate to a climate and soil they are unused to,hardships they scarcely dreamt of,—to toils often fruitless and uncheered, and unprotected if they fail? What is emigration now? It is in most instances the struggle against breaking fortunes, or broken hearts, or both. It is an exile compelled by injustice, folly, stupidity, and misgovernment at home, which drives away rags it will not mend. How is emigration carried out? Men go without knowing where, and what for. Workmen of Europe, industrious, elever, and used to the protection of laws, become slaves and serfs of America or Australia, to be flogged there. Who engages them there? Nobody. Who is to protect them there? Nobody. What have they to start with? Nothing. What help can they expect there? None. Yet the men are poor,—they want employment, they want labour, which they cannot find in their native land. And what is the use to many countries, of having those beautiful fertile lands, those extensive rich colonies abroad, bought at such expense of money and blood? Is it to send out a fine army to die of fever? or to boast of the extent of national dominion? If any country is really over-populated, that is to say, if there are more men in it than may be needed for immediate employment, why not send

them to another part of it? But send them provided, protected, organised, and comforted. There is room yet for many millions of men, in other parts. How many millions of acres remain yet uncultivated in every country? In England alone there is 15,000,000 acres, that could yet be used for the benefit of the country. How many millions of cattle could be reared? What trade may not yet be expanded? If there are too many in one place, government should form a colony at home, composed of so many bricklayers, masons, carpenters, butchers, bakers, tailors, doctors, elergymen, lawyers, &c. &c. &c., a company in whole amounting to a million. All artizans and labourers should be provided with cows, sheep, horses, and all necessary articles for ploughing, trading, and working. Why, a new colony, composed of a few small villages and a town or two, may be established in one year's time. It would disburden the country from five or six millions of wretches, who would be perfectly happy and comfortable there. It would place in the hands of a wise government another mean to gain enormous riches, which now fall into the hands of private individuals. By proper arrangement of such colonies, government would not only gain, in sixty or seventy years, millions of money, but may become possessors of lands which would become the property of the government. Why should not governments have estates, as the nobles have Even if five or six thousands only were sent every year, it would increase the revenue of government. In a few years, the new-grown corn, cattle, fruits, articles, would be sent to the country, and money for provisions would not go to strangers. Yet as such settlements and provisions cannot be produced by the conjuror's wand, it would require a little help at the outset, to be given to them, perhaps, with ten years' credit, charging only a small interest. And what are ten years to a hundred ages of constant struggles and trials? Some money even may be advanced to its leaders, who, as soon as the land would become fertilised, would repay it tenfold. But to drive a man thither without tools, without cattle, without seed, money, credit, or protection, is not only a cruelty, but the utmost barbarity. Instead of paying a numerous army of lazy soldiers, it would be far better to pay that money as a loan to an army of industrious labourers, and to tell them that, after the expiration of ten years, their payment should be stopped by their repaying their debt by instalments. How many rich families would go to such towns and villages, had

they but the due protection of laws and the hope of advancement. Where there is a will, there is a way. Many things have been done, but many more things shall yet be done! America alone, with its mines of gold, iron, coals; with its fruits, corn, timber, can offer accommodation, in spite of her morasses, to another mankind multiplied by ten. Why should misery be only talked over, and not redressed? It requires only a start. Every thing is prepared and ready, both materials and men.

Such an arrangement of employment would not only entirely change, but also redress, the present condition of society. It would comfort and enrich the poor, it would throw fortunes into the hands of the rich; and its necessity is not only visible, but desired, and strongly demanded, in every country. Yet, like all things, it will find its friends and its foes. Poland, however, which is the chief object of this work, is a country in which such regulations will find hardly any opponents. The Poles are not commercial men, they rather hate commerce, because it is indirect and pervertive, and the people will most probably support the establishment of a direct and straightforward commerce. The construction of railways, elections of members of senate and town corporations, will meet with a similar reception; for the experience of many ages have taught them—what they have manifested for ages in the eyes of Europe-never to fight and struggle for men, but always for principles.

The most important point in the re-establishment of Poland, is the emancipation of the peasantry, or freeing them from mastery. This was several times, and even lately attempted singly, but it must be performed upon her whole surface. Mastery means that the proprietor of each village has so many souls, who are called peasants. They cultivate his farm, lands, gardens, forests, and instead of receiving payment for it, they are provided with a very bad hut, a certain quantity of barley, corn, meat, whisky, and so much clothing. They cannot leave their hut or village without the permission of the master; and thus they are his property. Under the aristocracy of birth, their condition was more bearable, but under the present aristocracy of money it is insupportable; and the Polish peasant is now as much an oppressed and poor wretch as the English working-man. Such peasants have assistants, who work under them, receiving, however, a similar remuneration in provisions from the master.

To free them from such mastery, or rather tyranny, is the

easiest work in the world. Many distinguished Polish nobles,* to their great credit, attempted to free their peasants, but this was always opposed, forbidden, and often avenged, by the haughty usurpers and foreign rulers of Poland.

If the village of a master contains fifty peasants, and brings an yearly income of L.2000, let the whole land be divided into fifty different farms, and after the government or master has built fifty convenient, neat, and comfortable farm-houses, quite furnished, at a moderate and just rent, let such farms be given to them, and let them be proclaimed free and sole masters and tenants of them. Yet as they have received property, and not paid for it, they of course are in debt, which they must pay yearly by instalments; and, to prevent all imposition, government will protect them, by stipulating the rents and receiving the moneys, through the corporation of towns, and these through the officers appointed for the purpose. The annual rent due from each will be L.60. Could the peasant earn such a sum? Nearly double of it. Formerly they were always watched during their labour, which system proved both expensive and inconvenient; but now, as the land is their own, and all the profit of the labour will be theirs, they will work sincerely and willingly. They will know now that nothing on earth can turn them out of their house or their farm, and all improvements will be for their benefit; whilst before, like tenants in England, they might have been turned out of it at any time, forfeiting all improvements, without the least cause or occasion for it. Each peasant having a family, and two or three assistants, will form a group of seven or eight to cultivate and improve his land, and, in nine cases out of ten, the land will yield more, for the peasantry will become industrious and intelligent. The master, from fifty such families, shall have his L.2000 without any trouble or care. The name of the village shall be the same. It will be the real

^{*}A Polish noble means only a man who, from the third generation, does not pursue any business, but lives entirely upon the income of his village, or villages (one person often having ten or twelve of them)—or one who is a captain in the army. If such noble acquires riches and high rank, such as general, or minister, or bishop, he is called magnate, from the Latin magna, and means nobleman. There are not many noblemen, but plenty of nobles in Poland. The characteristic of their nobleness is, that they will rather live moderately, and without any ostentation, than be dependent upon any body, even the king.

property of the same man, only the direction of the work shall be taken out of his hand, provided he will choose to be an overseer, and the peasant proclaimed free. The remaining L.10 will go to pay his house by instalments, and whatsoever he will gain more will be his own recompense and reward. As there are many of them ill provided for at present, the government should help them to all kind of goods and field husbandry. Being generally ignorant, they would soon fall into the hands of those speculators and crooked merchants—the Jews, whose net is very artful, who would sell rubbish to the peasants, charging them more than really good articles would cost. To prevent this, a government officer should reside between a dozen or a score of villages, constantly travelling, receiving demands, and supplying such them from the government factories, in the cheapest manner, and receiving payment by instalments. The best and most healthy beverage shall be also kept in the government inn, to prevent imposition of spirit dealers, as well as a market to offer them good provisions, and at a cheap price.

The land of a village, if divided equally, will have different values, in accordance to soil and produce; therefore rents will vary, but all fifty farms together would pay L.2000. The name of peasants may be changed to that of labourers, and the noble may be the chief guardian, and hold two or three honourable Such noble will live like a prince—happy, independent, easy, rich, in the midst of intelligent farmers. He will be permitted to sell his village, or buy another. The land of Poland, spite of its fertility, is very much neglected, but the liberated peasant would soon change its aspect and condition; and as all the benefit shall flow to his purse, he will persevere, and, in course of time, he may grow very rich, without taking any thing from his master, but the reverse, improving and enriching his This will be the just remuneration of labour, and lands daily. will fall into proper hands.

BUILDING OF TOWNS.

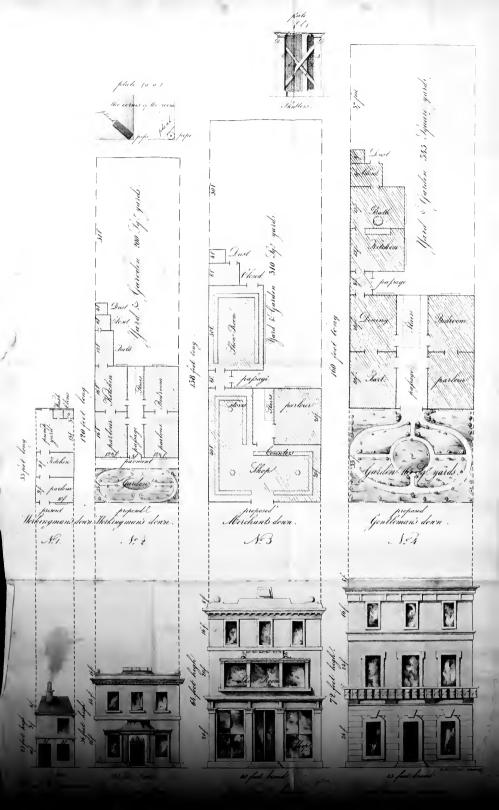
Home! home! sweet home! for which all men crave, Sweet illusion—Man's true home is the grave!

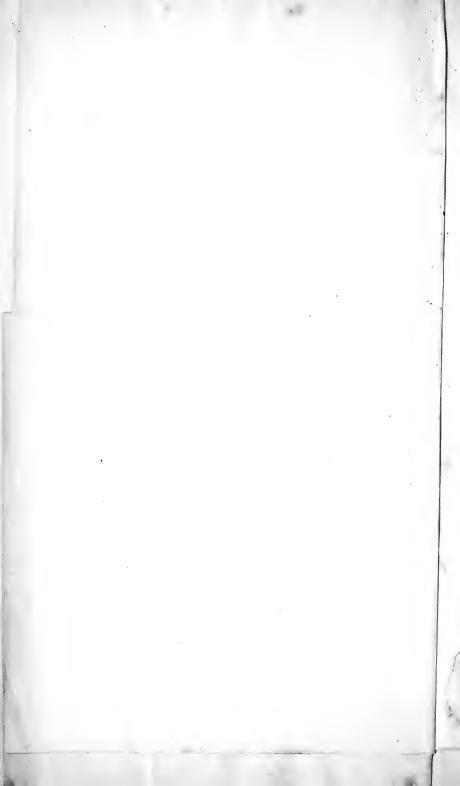
Shells are for oysters, dens for wild beasts, kennels for dogs, and hovels for savages; but a house for a man, a decent house for a Christian. A house, although apparently a mere dwelling of an individual, denotes at once not only his respectability, but acts and re-acts so powerfully upon the tenant by its comfort or deficiency, and influences so strongly his ideas, manners, and habits, that his future transactions and intercourse with society is manifested, either by his manly and refined, or by his brutalized and indignant behaviour, throughout life. A comfortable house is decidedly one of the greatest blessings that a man can enjoy in his short pilgrimage of life; it is the utmost desire of every body, and no one spares trouble, time, or expense, to make it as neat, ornamental, convenient, and comfortable, as his means will allow. A house is our cradle, our school, the nest of our feelings and sentiments, the bud of our parental and platonic love, the field of our emulation, and the spot where we wish to close our eyes. Every man is entitled to possess a neat house; its inward regulations not only influences, but creates, all our feelings, morals, intelligence, and manners; for we learn in it how to speak, how to think, how to move; to eat, drink, sleep, and behave; and a comfortable house ought to be the share of every decent man. Let us remember that mankind has already existed fifty ages, that billions of human dwellings are reared upon the surface of a grateful earth, opening its plentiful bosom for all materials; that enormous sums of money were paid; that hard and assiduous labour of millions of men were applied, and for what other purpose, if not to offer to man that comfort, ease, and rest, which the delicacy of his skin and nature entitles him to-if not to afford him that convenience and bliss, which his moral powers and immortal soul could appreciate? Yet, alas! that home, that comfortable home, how limited is its extent, how few there are now that can speak of the comfort

of their house! What numerous complaints are heard constantly throughout the whole country in respect to the nuisances of small houses, or rather huts, as they ought to be styled, which obstruct generally all the towns! They are built in narrow courts, without ventilation, without light, without drainage, surrounded by a most pestiferous, deadly atmosphere. The disastrous effects they work upon the tenants are incredible, their comfort is impossible, and their rents comparatively too great; they create numerous diseases, spread them throughout the towns, and are often the cause of premature death. What depravity of manners does not exist within their precincts; what corruption of morals do they not daily occasion; what neglect of religious, moral, and public laws do they cause; what dreadful crimes, as a result from the neglect of such laws, do not startle society now and then, like a midnight ghost, full of dread and horror! To prevent all such deplorable results, to improve and beautify the appearance of towns, to follow the general and urgent demands of the inhabitants, it is requisite to build new houses upon different principles altogether, and of different price, in accordance with the varieties of station and rank among the inhabitants of the kingdom.

WORKMEN'S HOUSES.

The last order of houses should be built for the workingclasses, upon the following principle:—A house to stand upon the space of 400 square yds.; to be 30 ft. broad, 44 ft. long, and 36 ft. high (see plate No. 2), containing 4 rooms on the ground floor, all 12 ft. by 16 ft., one of them made into a kitchen; 3 rooms up stairs. The sitting room 30 ft. by 16 ft., and 2 bedrooms, each 12 ft. by 16 ft., all of them 14 ft. high. A bath-room at the back of the house, close to the kitchen, 12 ft. by 12 ft., and 2 closets 8 ft. by 8 ft. The garden in front 50 yds. square, and the court behind 220 yds. square. The kitchen to contain a comfortable cooking apparatus, on the principle of Mr Joshua Harrison, called "The Economical Derby Range"-which is a splendid concern, taking little fuel, whilst performing all its duties. The washing-room should contain a bath, communicating by pipes with the range and the pump, so that a warm or cold bath may be conveniently served at any time. It is needful to dwell upon the vast benefits resulting to a family from a regular morn-





ing and evening bath; what numerous diseases would be prevented by it, what a promotion to respiration, what a help to digestion, what means of health, what a luxury it would be to young children, and the fatigued working-man himself, what cleanliness to the whole family! and yet, how few are there now that can enjoy such a necessity, many scarcely once or twice a-year can indulge themselves in it. In what a neglectful state, no doubt, do many at present remain. The temperature of the house, and, more so, the fresh and pure atmosphere are not only desired, but sought, by every one who values his good and constant health. Ventilators fixed in the top square of each room window would admit of fresh air at any time, but whose construction, although of little expense, is seldom or never practised; it would also prevent smoking in many instances—that pest of small houses. The warming of rooms is too expensive under the present system of firesides, and coals may be easily superseded to great advantage in the following manner, which would be even superior to fire, as it would keep the whole house in the same temperature, which affects so much our health and spirits, and which is so needful in every room during a severe winter :- By the side, or behind the kitchen range, should be placed an iron box, large enough to contain a quart of water, which will boil as long as there shall be fire in the kitchen. steam should escape into an iron pipe attached to the box, which pipe, of three inches in diameter, should wind round the corners of the rooms on the ground floor, and then rising to the first floor, round the four corners, in the rooms there, and so on if there shall be more stories. From the top it should descend, inside of the house, and fall into another box placed outside of the kitchen, in which the steam would convert itself into drops of water, and by another pipe from thence, as a liquid, run to the boiling box, and thus continue its metamorphoses the entire day, and perform the duty of warming the whole house. pipe, to prevent all collision, may be protected by planks of wood or iron, with plenty of holes, or fancy work (plate a a), by covering the corners of the rooms in a triangle, as the drawing shows. Two cisterns and two pumps should be constructed, either in the cellar, or under the wash-room, for hard and soft water necessary for the house and water-closets. In front of such houses, which should be nicely paved with large slabs of stone, should be large moveable openings for the admittance of coals,

from the street into the front cellar, thus sparing the trouble and the dirt generally caused under the present system. front of such pavement should run along the houses a garden, 5 yds. broad. Such garden to be common to all the long range of houses, and surrounded with round rails, with gates to the houses, and under the care of the gardener of the parish. the door of each house should be a letter-box for postmen, so as to dispense with the present cruelty, especially when houses are divided with numerous nonsensical rails. The postman, in rain and storm, must run to and from each door to the gate, and from the gate to the door, then raise his arms to hammer every knocker, then wait for servants, who are seldom in a hurry. Instead of all this, he will move on the pavement between the houses and the garden, and put each letter into the box; the falling letter will touch a spring, and ring the alarm bell, which, acknowledging the postman of the receipt, shall inform the servant of the house of the delivery. Every house to contain its respective bells, whose harmonious noise is far preferable to the screaming of an old woman, or a child, especially when they are out of temper. The streets should be 30 yds. wide, admitting for pavement of a house, 2 yds.; for a garden in front, 5 yds.; for town railway, as explained hereafter, 2 yds.; for the street itself, 12 yds.; for other side railway, 2 yds.; other front garden, 5 yds.; another pavement, 2 yds. Such house should be completely furnished, viz., 6 carpets and stair-case carpet, irons and fenders, 3 sofas, 3 beds and bedsteads, 24 chairs, 6 window curtains, 6 tables, 6 looking-glasses, washing-stands, and all the most necessary kitchen utensils, except plate-ware and lineage for L.100, and so let to its tenant. The 400 square yards of land, bought a little out of town, would cost L.50. There is now land in the hands of the corporation of Leicester, to the amount of L.30,000, which comes to 2s. 6d. per yard. There is also land under the disposal of Mr Goddaid, architect, of 8000 acres, at 1s. 6d. per yard; yet, admitting a yard at 2s. 6d.,-

The land for building a house will cost	£50	0	0
Furniture for a Working-Man,	100	0	0
Building of it, counting 50,000 Bricks, at £1, 10s. a			
thousand, although far too much,	75	0	0
Working-Men and Carpentery,	250	0	0
Money saved for Interest from each house,	25	0	0
The Total Expense of each.	£500	0	0

So large a house, so beautifully equipped, nicely painted outside, with garden in front, large court behind, shall be let to a working-man and his family for the rent of L.5 a year. How it can be done, whilst every body expects that L.500 should bring the interest of L.25 a-year, shall be hereafter explained. such a house a working-man deserves, such a house he ought to have, if we only think that mankind have inhabited this earth, 5000 years, and that upwards of fifty ages those working-men have been building those towns and villages—it is their hands and hard labour that rear them up from clay. Most honourable and creditable as was the proposal, it is now being carried out by Building Societies, who endeavour to assist the working-men in obtaining a "freehold and leasehold property of their own," and to offer them freeholders' liberty, and right of voting, by a proposal and an advance of money to build their own cottages with, and then to repay the loan and interest of it slowly, amounting together only to L.4, 4s. a-year, is decidedly a great service; for at the end of thirteen years they are owners of the cottage and the land. Yet the building of such a cottage costs only L.60. They are not furnished, and here the Building Societies, in spite of the excellence of their plan, and easiness with which they draw the money back, falls short; for could they have gone to a little farther expense, they would have offered, not a small and scanty, but a spacious and gentlemanly house to that class of artizans, whose industry and labour highly entitle them to the enjoyment, though not of the luxuries and splendours of the world, yet of its simple, unpresuming comforts, as a remuneration.

Let us now coolly and honestly convoke our calm reason, and command our steady feeling, and with the dignity becoming a moral man, examine the real position of a class of men, who are not only most numerous amongst us, not only the greatest consumers of produces manufactured for the use of mankind, not only the most important class of society, without which the common daily necessaries would be out of the reach of many, our comfort would be a question, our case impossible; the drawing-room of the queen—that now dazzles the eyes and puzzles the mind with its exquisite beauty, wonderful perfection, and enchanting elegance—quite a fallacy; but which class merits and deserves the utmost approbation and gratitude of others, for the sacrifices they make in performing such different kinds of work and

employment, which to others of different avocations and rank, would not only be tiresome, unpleasant, and painful, but quite impossible ever to be performed, or the hardship and disagreeableness of it sustained. That class of men are the working-men of every country. The whole life of a working-man has but few sweets indeed, the very idea of his life saddens the thought. The coarsest fare, the dirtiest work, the longest hours of daily fatigue, the strongest exertion of the physical faculties, is his lot. To climb the tops of houses and steeples, at the risk of life, to dive the earth's damp mines, to drag heavy weights, to load and unload great burdens, to work in scorching heat or stiffening cold, and withstand the snow and the rain, to be dirtied in clay or lime, to be sullied with the dust of mines, to bear choking in the factories, and almost suffocation in the foundries, is alike the destiny of that class; and all this to provide ease and comfort to others; and for all that toil, trouble and labour, how limited are his desires, how moderate his demand, how easy his engagement, and how little his remuneration! Of glory and fame he is not dreaming—honours and titles he does not covet rank and fortune he does not seek-he only lives from day to day, and prays to heaven not for his daily comfort, but for his daily labour-food to satisfy his hunger, simple as nature can provide, and neat lodgings to rest his every-day exhausted frame, are all he desires, all he expects, and all he strives for. No hope is allowed to him, no thought permitted, no means provided to support him in sickness or soothe the infirmities of his old age. All he is permitted is to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, and he is thankful to the hand that puts on him the yoke, if only that hand does not tyrannize, does not torment him. After seventy or eighty years of his laborious existence, when the gates of the damp grave open for his reception, how very little he has of his own! No jewels, no finery, can he look over,-no gold, no silver, can he count over,no privileges can he pleasantly think over,-no titles, no honours, can he rejoice over, -- and, worst of all, no sweet recollections of his once happy moments. No! The long run of his days passed brooding over disappointments, often amid misery,—and his choicest and best days were those when he had fortune enough to be employed, and strength to perform, so as to gain a sufficiency to satisfy his hunger, and procure a rest. Yet society feels his existence, he left to it several useful articles

which survive him; he has been helpful and useful to many-but now, in a single suit of worn out garments, he stands alone in the midst of the whole world, uncared for, unprotected, unrewarded, ready, and perhaps willing to die, and to end his long trials. His life was convenient to many, for he ranked himself in a very humiliating position, and those who share in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, should step forward willingly to offer him such benefits and improvements that would alleviate and sweeten the bitterness of his unlucrative avocation. A working-man, by the nature of his employment, which constantly needs the whole energy of his physical powers, is debarred from an opportunity to cultivate his moral faculties, which remain dormant within him; the regulations, therefore, and improvements of society, are the duty of the other class of men, whose moral powers should act with an energy equal to the physical energy of working-men. The consideration that we employ him, not to make his but our own fortunes, should be sufficient to prompt us forward to his aid; and we should mutually agree to offer him our most essential aid, so needful to his health and his existence, and build a convenient and proper house for his residence.

Such houses would not only offer to an artizan complete retirement and ease after labour, not only make him a happy possessor of it, but also secure the cleanliness of individuals, and then of towns, be an embellishment and the pride of the country, which would speak to its inhabitants of bliss and comfort hitherto Such houses, therefore, should become the last minimum of simplicity; and the nation should proclaim unanimously, that any house inferior to such as those proposed should never be allowed to raise its head in a free, independent, and enlightened nation. In addition to the pitiful appearance the low houses present in town, notwithstanding the dirt and worms they hide, they shorten the lives and reduce the strength of those whose preservation should be the study of a nation. And who knows but that the dirt of such houses, which produces in the whole of Ireland, without exception even of Dublin, and many a town in England, like Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, &c., &c., such monstrous quantities of shocking worms, with which the lower class of inhabitants are in constant fight and murder-that they also produce another species, perhaps more dreadfully propagatory, that fly in fields; these again repro-

duce insects that eat all kind of crops, like potatoes, apples, and corn, and that it is a punishment of heaven inflicted on a cruel race of sinful men. It is more likely that choleric aphides spring from the dirt of low houses and their pestiferous stagnant waters, than from the pure atmosphere of air. No one knows but it may be the anger of God shown to the men who abuse so shamefully the handsome, elegant, and clean earth and her nature. would be far better that a nation, instead of avowing its sin and fasting wholesale for it, should avow its pollution and cleanse itself from it. Those low houses, besides, create such indifference in their occupiers to any thing that is neat and ornamental, that they remain in a state of perfect carelessness in regard to articles collected within, so much so, that a resident of a miserable dwelling cares nothing to improve it; for all things being out of order, alteration would be too expensive, and no improvement is at all thought of. Then home offers no pleasure, no inducement to stay within. They accordingly resort to out-door rambling, and to places where the money is spent foolishly and injuriously to their health and morals. Then the poor man is still poorer, is not only unable to patronise the tradesmen, but virtually injures them, for he seeks their credit beyond his income, as the habit of abstaining from home devours all his money. He patronises the things adverse to good order and the welfare of society, and trade suffers by misapplication of his earnings; for, limited as the expenditure of a working-man may appear, it is enormous when taken in the aggregate, their number in every town being, if not three-fourths, certainly two-thirds of the population.

We admit, and allow it to be just, that an individual building a house for his own use is entitled, and should be permitted, to go to any extent, expense and shape suitable to his fancy; that he may patch an Irish hovel with a thatched roof, or an eastern palace with a kind of altar in his drawing-room, to worship on it his wife as a goddess, and idolise his children as angels; but a man, building a house for public use and sale, should be restricted by public law to construct it of a good article, and be prevented from imposition; and as such house will be repurchased by future generations, the health and appearance of the town consulted, and no trickery allowed. The building of houses is a matter of business, like building of factories, bridges, and engines; and would not the man be punished by law if he should construct a wrong bridge or engine? Would

not the landlord of an eating-house be punished if he should venture to kill people by selling rat and cat pies? Why therefore do the inhabitants of respectable towns allow themselves to be killed by inches, and allow dark and dirty huts to be built to lock up in them another class of men? Because some happen to have plenty of money to speculate, should they be permitted to double it rapidly, at the expense of the lives of others, and to the great nuisance of the town? Thus, nothing but opposition can stop the present injurious system! Such houses, like all other orders, should be under the control of corporations, and be periodically visited by revising engineers. One thousand of them had put out to interest the sum of L.25,000 at the beginning of their construction, as is shown in the table of loan, page 150, which sum, with compound interest for twenty-five years, will amount to L.84,644; from such a sum, L.50,000 would be judiciously expended on improvements and alterations, leaving a surplus of L.34,644½, which with compound interest, put again for the following twenty-five years, would considerably increase the capital, so that, every twenty-five years, 1000 of such houses shall have L.50,000, to be spent in repairs and alterations, leaving every year an increasing surplus, which shall go to the treasury of the town for other unforeseen necessities of the inhabitants. Then trade would be kept alive and give employment to hundreds. The houses should be painted inside and outside every five or six years, and not be similar in their dirty appearance to pig-sties. Insignificant as the houses of working-men may be thought, they bring a great income. Out of 13,000 houses in Leicester, there are 10,000 working-men's huts, the annual rent of which amounts to L.65,600, whilst those of the better sort of houses bring L.71,790, making the total annual rent of the town L.137,390. This single instance proves that the poor and little thought of artizans contribute nearly half of the yearly rent, consume more than half of every town's provisions, and support more than half of its tradesmen, and, after all, their remuneration is-long and hard labour and a shabby house.

MERCHANTS' HOUSES.

The next order of houses is to be built for merchants and shopkeepers. They should receive our particular notice, for they are another cause of general inconvenience and distress. Their

present system is ruinous to trade; a great deal of money runs through them into wrong channels, and, checking commerce, causes a great amount of labour and industry to be lost. No matter in what part of the country, no matter in what town, the rent of first-rate shops amounts from L.100 to L.200 per annum, whilst the second-rate are at from L.50 to L.80 a-year. houses, with shops, are not of any extraordinary size, their architecture is simple, and the shops, with the exception sometimes of large windows, differ nothing at all from the rest of the dwellings. What is then the reason that such houses should have such enormous rents? Simply because it is a shop, and stands in such and such a place. The striking fact presents itself now, that the shopkeeper is obliged to pay at least L.100 more for a house, similar to that of a private gentleman, having no more rooms, nor these larger, nor more comfortable, whilst the original cost of both houses amount to the same sum. And because it happens to be called a shop, an enormous rent, with its additional taxes, is put on the back of a merchant, making a three or fourfold expense. Such a shopkeeper is an industrious and laborious man; he devotes all his time to the service of the public; he brings up his children to an assiduous sedentary life, and tedious attendance in his shop; and he has besides additional expense to incur to maintain ten or a dozen men to keep that shop and business orderly. He devotes his entire life to it, and, burying himself therein, denies himself many pleasures—he sinks in it his industry, health, and capital; and for all that, he is obliged to pay L.100 or L.200 more than any private individual for a similar house. How can he raise the money for such extra outlay? Why, he must sell to the public every article of manufacture at a price far above its original value. Thus the public must pay more than they ought, and consume only one half of the articles which they would do were they cheaper. And who gets the money of the public after all? Is it any one of the four classes that produce such articles? Is it, First, those who have brought the raw material from abroad? Is it, Secondly, those who have the labour in working them up? Is it, Thirdly, those who have the expense of building manufactories? Or, Fourthly, Is it those who have the trouble and expense to purchase them wholesale, and keep them in order, arrange them to advantage, show them hundreds of times over, and watch their safety? No! None of these parties have their

real profit, they do not receive half of the remuneration which ought and might be their share; but it is the landlord who gets all! If the building of a house costs him originally L.1000, (a very rare case that a shop ever costs such a sum,) he gets his L.50 for a house, and L.100 for a shop, and accumulates in 50 years the sum of L.7500, free from all taxes; and his rent in another 50 years increases it to L.15,000, as a return for one thousand. No wonder landlords get rich! And how does this landlord serve the public in return for such a fortune? He is free from all the burden of taxes, which are enormous, and the tenant must pay them all; and when he sees that his tenant is elever, industrious, and persevering; that he has improved his house and shop; that his labour and fair dealing has secured him customers, and his shop, or hotel, (particularly the latter,) is in a flourishing state—the landlord, like Hamlet's ghost, appears before his trembling tenant, and begs most respectfully to inform him, that the place, as he anticipated whilst building, had become popular; and that the time also had arrived when the rent should be raised a trifling sum, say L.20 or L.30 more; that he, besides, is pressed by a relative, who offers willingly the increased sum, and he, (the landlord,) considers it his duty to accommodate his very worthy cousin, to whom he is under great Hundreds and thousands of instances like this happen constantly; and we must think how many tenants, living in those splendid shops, that dazzle the eyes of thousands, and create often envy, are struggling with difficulty-what a hard task is their vain labour, their labour for others, and with what a number of embarrassments are they often entangled; what anxiety, what pangs do they not feel daily; what risk, what enormous losses they are exposed to; how often bankruptey, and the entire ruin of their family, is their lot; what a number of bitter and sleepless nights do they not know! Is this the recompense a man should receive for his public service? What principles must be adopt in his business, to pay such an enormous rent? Hence his articles are dear; and where there are only hundreds now, there would be thousands to buy them, were they but cheaper. Hence this checks commerce; fewer goods are sold, less labour required, less money is called into currency. If a landlord lays out his L.1000, and receives for it in 25 years the sum of L.3750, and the same house is now valued at least at L.1500, ought he not to be satisfied with making L.5250 for

one thousand? And ought he not to lessen the rent? Will he? Ought he not to be thankful? Is he? Men are never thankful. never grateful, never satisfied; they will get as much as they can, and the more they get, the more they want. Amongst the sublime impulses and feelings which heaven has so bountifully lavished on men, we have received a good share of many reverse qualities; amongst them greediness, and an unquenchable avidity for the acquisition of property, which is the nature of nearly every man without exception. Has ever any body known a king, who, instead of giving a splendid banquet to his rich friends, gave a town dinner to his poor people? No! Has any one known a rich merchant or speculator, who, having made a princely fortune of two or three hundred thousand pounds, gave L.50,000 out of it for the benefit of the working-men, by whose labour he acquired that fortune? No! Has any one known a similar rich personage to retire willingly and perfectly satisfied from his business, so as to leave room for others? No! Has any body known a wealthy gentleman, who, having a more extensive wardrobe than he could use, looked out for a poor man, and gave him a present of clothing? No! Has any one known a poor working-man, who, finding sixpence left in his pocket which he needed not, after a plentiful meal, has started into town to find out a poor creature, perhaps a widow with orphan children, that had no dinner, and treated her with one? No! He goes and drinks it himself! So we are, from the king to the beggar, all anxious and ready to get as much as we can, then a little more, then a bit more; all planning, musing, struggling to get more and more, and a little more; and propelled by such avidity, men would resort to all kinds of violence and usurpation, if the laws did not stand in the rear as a strong barrier of pikes, against the mad runners, and frighten them a bit. Kings, nobles, merchants, and working-men, have often been checked in their races for money, by the power of laws. Yet, as neither these laws nor our comfort have arrived at their perfection, we must expect that some alteration will take place in society. Happy are the nations who can introduce them quietly, without imminent peril or expense to their inhabitants.

The rent of all shops being thus monstrous, what enormous sums do they not imprison in the hands of those who, in return, throw them away in different channels, and weaken by it the productive branch of commerce that works them. Had the

money of the disposed articles come back to its producers, to work a new sort of goods, there would be a blissful plentifulness among them, both in gold and articles; but such money runs to benefit different races of men, and different lands altogether, to produce different goods; and as such will be the case so long as unrestricted private speculation shall be permitted, we must either say here despondingly, Amen, and suffer eternally, with the eternal existence of the world, or, raising our heads from the dust, retiring from the rattle of fortune-makers' gold, clear our sight, muster our energy, call forth our intelligence, and set up opposition to stop their steam-whistling speed, and petition the government, willing to stop the mischief of the money aristocracy. The idea is maddening, when we think that mankind, inhabiting this earth 5000 years, cannot arrive to a conclusion, to gather their mutual forces, to concentrate them to the benefit, comfort, ease, and abundance of all; but, like hydro-headed hyenas, invent all possible means mutually to teaze and obstruct each other, as if the fathoms of bitter torments, and the whirlwinds of difficulties, were their spheres to live in.

Apropos. The houses, therefore, for merchants, to be built upon a different principle, and with different rents altogether. The house to stand (see No. 3) on the space of 400 square yards; to be 40 ft. wide, 93 ft. long; to contain a shop 40 ft. by 20 ft., and another, 20 ft. by 16 ft.; a back parlour for business, 16 ft. by 20 ft.; all 20 ft. high; a passage of 8 ft. by 6 ft., to lead to the show-room at the back of the house, 30 ft. by 20 ft., and 20 ft. high. The first floor to have a splendid drawing-room, 40 ft. by 20 ft. and two bed-rooms of 16 ft. by 20 ft. each, and all 20 ft. high. The first floor passage, above that on the ground-floor, to lead to a vast kitchen of 16 ft. by 15 ft., from thence to a bath-room of the same size, all 20 ft. high. Behind the kitchen and bath-room, runs a passage, 4 ft. wide, that leads to a closet of 8 ft. by 12 ft., all situated over the show-room. The staircase, which is wholly in the house, 8 ft. wide, to lead to the next floor, containing five bed-rooms, two of 16 ft. by 20 ft., two of 14 ft. by 20 ft., and one of 12 ft. by 20 ft., all 16 ft. high. Underneath the house, five large cellars, and behind a large yard of 310 square yards. This house, like the former, to be warmed with pipes, and provided with bells, &c. &c., with new additions: first, the shutters of the shop, to lessen the trouble of taking them up and down, for which some one should take a patent;

and the better to secure the shop, to be constructed of iron or wooden plates, folding themselves to and fro A A A, and fixed at the extremities of the shop windows (see No. 3) in the pillars B B, so that they may be pulled out or forced in with the greatest facility. They come out from the pillars, by opening them with a key, and after the folding shutters are pulled out, the two iron bars C C fall down across, from the bottom of each pillar, and fit the tops of each other in the places D D, where they are fastened with pins, and secured inside of the shop. Second, the shades, or linen roofs to protect the shop and the customers from the sun and the rain, are to come from above the shop windows, all constructed perfectly uniform, and all of the same fine material, with beautiful lappets falling down, which will not only secure comfort, but add greatly to the fine appearance of the street. They are to be supported by iron poles, of finely executed pattern, like some gas lamps, and be fixed by the sides of large slab-stoned pavements. Such a roof would be delightful both to shopmen and passengers. A yard increased by 100 square yards, would be more desirable. Admitting the price of each square to be 2s. 6d.,-

400 Square Yards of Land will cost,			£ 50	0	0
The Furnishing, without lineage, ware, ar	id plate	е,	212	0	0
70,000 Bricks, at £1, 10s. a thousand,			105	0	0
Working-Men and Carpentry .			583	0	0
Money saved for interest,	•	•	50	O	0
Making the whole expense equal to			£1000	0	0

So furnished, the shop, fitted with its large and beautiful glass windows, shall be let to the shopkeeper at the annual rent of L.25.

GENTLEMEN'S HOUSES.

The next order of houses shall be built for the use of independent gentlemen of small revenues, and professional gentlemen, whose yearly income may vary from L.100 to L.200. The difference shall be only in their outward appearance, and there will be four rooms down where the merchant has his shop, and the kitchen and the bath-room where he has his show-room, and nothing or one room above, for servants. The land shall be 600 sq. yds., or 200 sq. yds. more, so as to allow the house to stand in the middle of a garden (see house No. 4), and to be distant

from the street 15 yds. In this case a letter-box shall be in one of the pillars of the front gate.

The Land therefore will cost,			£75	0	0
The Furniture, .			150	0	0
The Bricks,			80	0	0
The Working-Men and Carpe	ntry,		400	0	0
Money saved for interest,			50	0	0
Making the total expense			£755	0	0

And so built and furnished, it shall be given to gentlemen at the rent of L.20 per annum.

Such a house will contain four rooms down, each 16 ft. by 20 ft. The kitchen and bath-room, 16 ft. by 15 ft. each. A passage behind them, 4 ft. wide, leading to a closet, 8 ft. by 12 ft. Three rooms up stairs; drawing-room, 40 ft. by 20 ft.; two bed-rooms, 16 ft. by 20 ft., all 24 ft. high. Five bed-rooms on the second floor, two, 16 ft. by 20 ft.; two, 14 ft. by 20 ft.; one, 12 ft. by 20 ft., all 16 ft. high. Staircase, 8 ft. wide. The house thus containing in all, 12 rooms, kitchen, bath, large cellars, large yard, and a garden in front, and another behind, each 100 sq. yards.

Houses for Single Persons.

The next order of houses are those built for the accommodation of unmarried parties, artists, clerks, travellers, &c., termed lodging-houses. It is well, perhaps, to mention the great expense to which this class of society is exposed, as well as the advantage taken of them, under the present system. In the first place, it is impossible for any gentleman to have respectable lodgings, without paying from one pound to thirty shillings per week, making from L.50 to L.75 per annum. Those lodgings are, without exception, in houses, whose rent is from L.12 to L.16 per year. It is impossible for any common person to have even a small room for less than 5s. per week, thus making L.13 annually, in a house whose rent is only from L.5 to L.8 per year. Besides such high rent, there are many inconveniences attending lodgings, as by the chatter of old women, inattention, no service given, no kindness shown in return for such payments, which are generally double or treble that of the rent,quite the reverse. There is the greatest inattention, bad cooking, neglect of cleanliness, purloining; and the stern demeanour of the people (old women generally), who commonly are without any education, without manners, without feeling, and without good sense, is quite abominable; and the lodger, who pays treble the rent, is tantalised, unattended, uncared for, and often hated. Many worthy young men of good families, as students, clerks, doctors, lawyers, engineers, &c., are the victims of ignorant and dirty landladies. The houses of lodgers should be built on the same principle as that of gentlemen, with this difference, that seven of them should be joined together, whilst all other orders of houses should stand separately, the distance of two or three yards, which would prevent all chance of annoying neighbours, and be safer in case of fire. They would offer to many thousands of worthy individuals that comfort and ease which they are truly deserving of, by their avocation, station, and talents; a class of men who, ranking between the top and bottom of society, are not only very useful, but deserve, in regard of their cleverness, politeness, general knowlege and accomplishments, better accommodation in their leisure hours, which are very few indeed. The houses should be seven in a line and four stories high. Two rooms being sufficient for lodgers, the sittingroom and bed-room on the ground floor, beautifully furnished, shall be 8s. per week; those on the first floor 6s.; those on the second 4s.; and on the third 2s. per week. As each house may contain a double compliment of lodgers, eight of them would pay L.2 per week, making the rent of one house L.104 per annum. These houses should have a wide passage 8 ft. broad, running through the middle of the house, and dividing the apartments of lodgers, who are to live over each other. The sitting-rooms shall be 30 ft. by 22 ft. long, and the bed-rooms 16 ft. by 22 ft. broad; all of them will differ only in height; those on the ground floor, and on the first and second floors, will be all 20 ft. high, and those on the third only 16 ft. high. At the entremities of the building, both the first and the seventh house shall be constructed without passage or divisions, to contain two large dining-rooms 52 ft. by 46 ft., and 20 ft. high; on the first floor, two billiard-rooms of the same size; in the second floor, two readingrooms of the same size; on the third floor, two coffee and chessrooms of the same size, but only 16 ft. high; that is, four large saloons in each house. Behind the house a large garden of 2345 square yds., or 21,000 square ft., with a large swimming

bath.* The entry to the building to be by the middle house, to right and left, to pass the glass-room of the porter, who should see all coming to the house. A married man and his wife should be appointed to superintend the domestic affairs of the house. He would receive the money for the rent and board, according to agreement, each week or each month, as well as the quarterly payments for the bath, which would come to 5s. per year, to defray its expenses.

The building of each house would occupy only 280 square yds., whilst the land for each shall be 600 square yds. Thus.

The Land will cost, at 2s.	6d. pc	er yard,		£75	0	()
Furnishing, .				150	0	0
Building and Carpentry,				525	0	0
			In all,	£750	0	0

each yielding an annual rent of L.104, or seven of them L.520 per annum—thus making the best return of money.

Such four orders of houses should be the plainest permitted to be built, for they are for classes of men who are unable to build houses themselves; and as these classes form eight-tenths of a nation's population, and are the basis and support of every country, they have a right to claim that aid and support of the ruling power which can make them perfectly happy, and the government perfectly rich. All other orders of houses, built for rich parties. may be left to individual undertaking, for they can advise and plan easily with the help of money. It is the needy and deserving, yet unhappy, majority of mankind, that the ruling powers should strive to comfort; and these are the means which could ameliorate their condition, and mitigate their sorrows, with visible benefit to the rich, who would find their eastles and palaces, as well as luxuries, much cheaper. They could augment their fortunes, by placing them in the hands of government at a profitable per centage, to live in peaceful and happy retirement.

^{*} The small bath-rooms will stand attached to the last two houses, and be connected by a passage protecting them from the wind—each of the apartments to contain 12 small bath-rooms.

Even the small sum of L.3000 would yield L.150 a-year. Such a plan for the benefit of the human race would be far more honourable than all railways, or corn and trade speculations. Indeed, that man would be a heartless wretch who would throw any impediment in the way of what is calculated to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-men, who, by their labour, may be said entirely to contribute to the accumulation of those riches, which the rich may now call their own, and which offer them the enjoyment of all those enchanting and endearing pleasures, that even the most inventive ideas, most tender feelings, most ticklish fancy, and most refined taste, can invent, excite or inflame.

To form a perfect estimate of the present scanty and inconvenient houses, a plan and a view of one is subjoined (see plate No. 1). They are only 25 ft. high, and 14 ft. broad, containing only four rooms of scanty dimensions, with hardly any yard, and, worst of all, the kitchen, in which the people dine, has its window darkened with closet doors. Hundreds of similar towns, with hundreds of similar shabby buildings, and dirty and dark streets and passages, may be seen in every country. What is the old town of Edinburgh, the river side of Newcastle, the out-towns of Manchester, the quays in Liverpool, the suburbs of Dublin, and half of London and Paris, with their courts and lanes, but a shame to the eternal disgrace of lazy and indolent governments, and the condemnation of the foolish inhabitants, who, for centuries, pay heavy rents to live in dirt, and filth, and breathe the atmosphere of vermin!

Many men visit large towns, and speak a great deal of them; but they are always satisfied with the admiration of the conspicuous and splendid edifices, and limit their wonder and examination to the places of magnificent art, astonishing architecture, or grandeur of scenery, and pass by entirely those places which affect the happiness, comfort, health, and prosperity of the inhabitants, but whose dirt and shabbiness are hushed down by the goodly towers and mighty pillars which look down upon the town's humbled condition.

Every one will speak of St Peter's and St Paul's of Rome, Notre Dame in France, the Royal Palace of Berlin, the Louvre and Tuilleries in Paris, St Paul's and Buckingham in London, or the Castle and Moray Place in Edinburgh,—they will ponder and wonder about their greatness and beauty, and be lost in

admiration of bricks and stones, whilst they do not think for one moment of either the condition, state, or happiness of those labourers who reared these proud monuments which tower up to heaven! And when the fine arts are thus admired, the labour is forgotten. Could every such stately edifice but contain a description or speak the life of the men who built them so high, not without danger and hard labour, -oh! what dreadful, what dark annals would these monuments be to humanity! finely painted and furnished house does not certify man's happiness, it is the bread and the wine in it, that is, man's intellect and labour properly rewarded, through which he can accumulate around him comfort and plenty, that are the bliss. So it is with towns, and indisputable facts show, that the more a town raises its proud and boasting masts of gilded towers and carved pillars, the more there is damp caves and dirty dungeons around, which imprison the health and comfort of men.

Numerous reports of a very alarming nature, of which hundred upon hundreds appear in the newspapers of all European nations, bring to our memory the dreadful state of the present subject, namely, the system of building houses, the misery resulting from which should find an end in every country which deems herself enlightened. What is London really? One of its papers, the Weekly Dispatch, of 22d Nov. 1846, contains the following article :-

" Horrible Condition of the Dwellings of the Poor.

"The committee appointed to inquire into the condition of Cambridge Court, reported that it consisted of thirteen small houses, each having three small rooms, that were by day occupied by 16, and at night by 30 individuals, thus, 13 houses contain nightly 390 human beings, promiscuously thrown together, irrespective of age, sex, or health! The Court was without ventilation, without light, without drainage, and surrounded by a most pestiferous deadly atmosphere. The committee recommended that the 7 & 8 Viet. chap. 84, and the 8 & 10 Vict., chap. 6, be enforced in respect to this Court; that the legislature be petitioned to repeal the window tax, as it would enable better light being thrown into it, and that the Commissioners of the Sewers be requested to build a drain there!!

Messrs — &c. &c. &c., having corroborated the report, it was adopted."

This being a well founded fact, and only one out of a hundred of similar reports advertised in numerous newspapers, which may be easily ascertained by the curious inquirer into the wretchedness around, leads us to notice that London has 10,000 streets, and admitting only one hundred streets, with one similar court of 16 huts, although the number is tenfold, there is a pretty vexing sight of 100, containing a population of 100,000 men, living in utter ignorance of God, entire forgetfulness of religion, shameful profligacy of manners, debasing condition of morals, ignorant, brutalised, without principle, without honesty, ready for every perverse trick, cheatery and theft. But the misery goes further, there is tenfold the number of other low and mean streets and lanes—not perhaps so bad, yet very little better, in respect of comfort and respectability—with an average of ten to one hundred of such streets. Now, we can easily perceive that, multiplying by ten, we have a population of one million of human beings, or about two-thirds of the population of that glorious and so much boasted London, with its numerous gaudy edifices, and with its ten thousands of streets filled with freemen, who, far from having any thing like a good appearance, are the real victims and picture of misery, want, and deprivation, in the midst of which depravity they are not above the brute creation.

What has been said of London might be said, word for word, of any other European metropolis. Paris would even surpass the description, and no dictionary would have words to paint its crimes and misery.

Edinburgh, which, like Rome, situated on a range of eminences, the natural beauty of which, helped by art, ought to have made it a paradise on earth—in spite of its antiquity, is not what it ought to have been, nor even what it appears to be. Edinburgh was a considerable village in 854, nearly a thousand years ago. When the Lothians ceded to the Scots, the castle became the residence of their monarchs in 1020; and under David the First, it enjoyed all the splendour of royalty, whilst the town was then as important as Berwick-upon-Tweed is to-day. The king also founded the Abbey of Holyrood, and empowered its canons to build a suburb. This we may consider its full

existence, and the High Street and Canongate formed a line, as in the present day, from Holyrood to the castle, only at that time the houses were all thatched with straw. In the reign of Alexander II., the first parliament was held in Edinburgh, in 1214-which at once established it a town of import-This is now six centuries ago. On the murder of James I., Edinburgh became a capital. James III., in 1477, established and regulated its markets—created a provost and corporation, and gave them a national banner. In 1508, the king empowered the town to let the grounds of the Borough-moor and the marsh. Such a quantity of wood was cut that it could not be sold, and the magistrates were obliged to allow those who bought enough for building a house, to add new fronts to their houses, thus causing them to project sometimes nearly seven feet into the street. Edinburgh thus was built entirely of wood, instead of stone. In 1532, the College of Justice was established, and the magistrates, for the first time, paved and repaired the High Street-330 years after its parliamentary existence; what a slow progress of affairs! In 1617, the restitution of archbishops and chapters was performed; but what is more important, in that happy epoch, water was introduced by pipes. Thus the nations must wait ages to get their houses, pavements, and water! The first stage of Edinburgh buildings were hill-built hamlets, in the shape of a double row of one storey. The second stage, were built about the year 1300, consisting of three storeys, the lowest part of stone, the uppermost of wood. Specimens may yet be seen in the Cowgate. The third stage were built about 1500, nearly the same, only wooden galleries were introduced in front, so that, after eight centuries, Edinburgh could count but few houses of comfort. In 1751, the houses, tired of standing so long, began to fall down, killing the people beneath them; and as the enriched landlords would not help their old infirmity, people began to think seriously of deserting them. Thus in 1770, Mr Brown, the builder, breaking the chains of prejudice and obstinacy, ran away from the desolation, and built Brown Square. Then a society ealled "The Mirror Club" was formed, and as Mr Mackenzie, the author of The Man of Feeling, headed them, many lords followed the noble example, and the new town was raising its clean wings to shelter the deserters of the old; and, in 1777, St Andrew Square was the bright produce of the building reformation. Improvements continued to follow, and in

1790, Princes Street became a good thoroughfare. About the year 1801, the new town, north of Princes Street, was projected, and was finished about 1826; which, with its convenience, salubrity and ornaments, with gardens of characteristic feature, presents a view hardly to be met with in all Europe.

We must pause here and contemplate how beautiful are wise regulations. In 70 years from the building of Brown Square, an elegant and splendid new town rose, whilst the old one, after an existence of eight centuries, with models of Greek and Roman architecture, is as yet the pitiful object of misery and dirt. What power, then, raised the new town? wonders? superhuman power? great assiduity? extraordinary attempts? No! will and consent of a few wise men. Their small number and limited resources did wonders; simply because the principle was good; they united in support of the common cause, and submitted to wise regulations. What could not be done in 30 or 40 years, if the whole nation-departing from jealousy and selfishness—united and undertook the rebuilding of all towns? New and still improved plans would be presented in millions by clever engineers and builders, and the government would be a guarantee of success. What is the difference, if the town is built by so many and such lords? or by so many and such building companies? The new town is styled Modern Athens. Athenians would, perhaps, submit to the architecture of the houses, but decidedly not to the rents. And here is the deficiency: One of the new houses in Modern Athens is rented at L.160 a year. Thus a man who would wish to live in it for 50 years must pay L.8000. What may such a house cost originally? For L.1200, one much more handsome, more spacious, and furnished from top to bottom with first-rate furniture, may very easily be constructed. But such a house, in 100 years, brings the landlord in return for L.1200, the sum of L.16,000, with the house, at that time, valued no doubt at five or six thousand pounds. Others, inferior, for gentlemen or merchants, are let from L.80 to L.100. Thus a man of business must work very hard, or rather charge very hard prices, to pay his rent for 50 years, amounting to L.5000. Private flats are generally let at L.50 per annum, thus amounting, in 50 years, to L.2500. It is almost ridiculous to believe that a man, in his short pilgrimage, is obliged to pay the sum of from three to four thousand pounds for a miserable couple of hundred of bricks to shelter

him from the atmosphere and rain, and, after all, not one of them can he call his own.

What are the accommodations of the celebrated new town? Most uncomfortable. People hire half stories, and have democratically to share their kitchens and closets. The bed-rooms, whose fresh air and great size ought to bespeak comfort, are not large enough for a big dog to stretch his tail along. The enormous rents, averaging from L.20 to L.30 a-year, make six such half-floors bring the rent of L.180 a-year from a house that did not originally cost L.800, but which may easily be provided, under the new plan, for L.5 or L.6 a-year, or about L.25 yearly for three storeys; and, besides, they should be all furnished. The present houses are too low in the ceiling, and without a sufficiency of light in the passages, and very few have yards or other places of convenience attached to them. The floors are so weak. that the least motion shakes the upper and under floors; and the walls are so thin, that a conversation, music, or crying of a child, is plainly overheard by neighbours, which is an extreme annoyance. In some localities, the roofs have no water tubes, and the rain pours down in torrents upon the heads of passengers, and the side-pavements look like rivulets, through which the people must tread. The appearance of some of the houses is dirty, as if they were heaps of clay or coke, but a few shops and public establishments are nicely painted, in some streets, though these are extremely few. Why should not the whole town be painted similarly? Many shops, in Modern Athens, are damp caves, like gipsies' tents, for which the poor tenants must pay from L.60 to L.80 a-year. How can the people live happy and comfortable, with L.100 a-year, when they are burdened with such rents, and dearness of provisions. Yet L.100 a-year, in Edinburgh, is considered lucrative! In the whole of Modern Athens, as in many other towns, there is only one respectable and merchant-like shop, namely, that of Messrs Graham, Gowans, Whytock & Co., No. 11 George Street.

The old town is as badly built as it possibly could be. In the first place, the respectable and comfortable houses are so few, that, within the whole extent of the town, they are quite lost. Secondly, the next class are for trades-people, but their enormous rents, bad accommodation, darkness, rotten and worn-out condition, are the greatest pest and expense to their tenants. And, lastly, the houses for the poor inhabitants are a positive

disgrace to the town, which had its royal residences, provosts, charter, and banquets in Holyrood, upwards of 800 years ago. The Cowgate may be set as the ne plus ultra pattern of all abominations. It ought to be pulled down, to the everlasting disgrace of its landlords, who extract money, in sheer derision of morality and decency. The whole of the High Street and Canongate is nothing but a long row of lofty nine-storied pigeon holes—the shabbiness of their outward appearance, the rottenness and dirt inside, the paltry furniture, the unfortunate appearance of their tenants, the vulgarity and distress of their inmates are so great, that it surpasses all belief and description. On each side of these two streets, from the Castle to Holyrood, are the most extraordinary number of closes, amounting to no less than 76 on the one side, and 55 on the other—together 130. They contain most despicable and shabby rooms, imprisoning a population of 20,000 miserable wretches. These, conjointly with the Cowgate and its closes, contain a mass of upwards of 30,000 beings, whilst there are 60,000 buried alive in another 20 streets around the town, such as West Port, Grassmarket, South and North Canongate, which proves that half of the Edinburgh population have miserable dwellings. The stagnant filth and dirt concentrated in these holes would make another mountain as high as the Castle. The offensive smell and pernicious atmosphere that escape from those dens, poison the vicinity for a mile round. Hence hundreds die of fever yearly, and thousands are laid up in Even passing through several of those streets is most unpleasant—in one word, if any of the greatest tyrants wished to lock up thousands of men, that they should perish in misery and filth, he could not adopt a better plan than take these streets for a model. If any kind of animals had lived for 800 years on the same spot, their stables would have been more decent and approachable than such domiciles. Should any king in future visit Edinburgh, the people should invite him to visit those streets and closes, that he might learn their true state. Such a lesson would benefit the country and mankind, and the money that is generally spent childishly in his reception, would be far better employed in building a new street to relodge the unfortunate sufferers.

The Castle of Edinburgh, 'tis true, has undergone many attacks and burnings, as in 1333, 1337, 1423, 1638, 1689, 1736; but the time has now arrived, when that kind of fortification is

of no use. When the people rose, fortified Vienna and Paris vielded their bastiles and forts, and it is high time that the Castle of Edinburgh should change its aspect. This wonderful rock, so stupendous a work of Nature, should be made a splendid monument of art, that could be seen for miles around. new castle, or rather mansion, most splendid in architecture, should be reared in its stead, and it ought to be the residence of the Lord Provost. Nobody would attack nor besiege it. At present it resembles more an old brewery than a spot historically remarkable, containing, as it does, the royal insignia of the country of Wallace, of Bruce, of the Davids, and of Mary. Although styled castle, it is nothing more than an inferior barracks. immediate vicinity should be cleared from profligacy and vice, and the road to it should be paved, not with courts and closes, but with mansions and palaces of mighty grandeur. Arthur Seat and Salisbury Crags stand naked. Oh how nature is abused in Scotland! What splendid situations for monuments of great men! What a nice place for amusement and entertainment would not a saloon offer on the top of Arthur's Seat! garden for public joy and merriment could not be planted in the great valley! Comparatively, Edinburgh has no public walks such as it might have. To pay L.2, 2s. for a season ticket for Princes Street Garden is preposterous. Many prefer rather to go forty-two times to the Zoological Gardens; yet the workingclass have no means to do so. This is a great cruelty. Such places should be open and free, on condition that all visitors should be dressed. Cemeteries are scattered here and there, but are far from giving any holy inspiration to visitors, whilst there is plenty room to have a beautiful and grand one. Public baths for the middle and poor classes are very scarce.

And what is now the annual rent of Edinburgh? No less than L.552,967! From this sum L.110,593 is deducted for the support of police, pavements, officers, &c. Where then goes the sum of L 442,373 yearly! Into the hands of private speculators—the proprietors of those miserable huts. Besides this, the sum of no less than L.110,000 is paid yearly for government taxes. The population of Edinburgh, independent of 30,000 in Leith, amounts to 200,000 inhabitants, who pay upwards of L.600,000 in rent and taxes, or L.3 per head. Under the new proposed plan, as is explained hereafter, it would only come to L.2 per head; and, besides, by the introduction of a universal

tax, Edinburgh would pay one half for the support of government, and the other half for the benefit of the town, thus making L.200,000 to the government, and L.200,000 to the town treasury. The number of tenements in Edinburgh amounts to 26,982, and the number of shops to 16,125, making together 43,107 domiciles. This proves the scantiness and smallness of the dwellings. As was said before, 50,000 inhabitants require 9000 houses in order to be quite comfortable, which would cost L.5,500,000, but each well furnished and self-contained. The 200,000 inhabitants of Edinburgh would require only 36,000 houses, costing L.22,000,000; or another new town, upon the new principle, superior and more handsome, might be built for L.11,000,000.

If we now turn our particular attention to Leicester, we shall perceive that it had its bishop's see in 680, being the beginning of its existence. It has stood therefore a thousand years. first Earl of it was Bellemonte, who was the Earl of Mellent, in Normandy, and was created by King Henry I. in 1103, for espousing his cause; it had then 1500 inhabitants. Passing all the other changes to which the town has been exposed, the subsequent remittances in the hands of the Plantagenet, then the Dudley, and then the Sydney families, we arrive at the year 1587, when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to its corporation. This is decidedly the time when it became one of the principal towns of England; for it was made also a staple town for buying and selling wool. The stocking machine was invented by the Rev. Wm. Lee in 1589, and, since that time, its people began to make great fortunes. This is 260 years ago! The town rose rapidly, and in 1790 counted 14,000 inhabitants. From the time, therefore, of its first Earldom, Leicester existed seven centuries; and since 1790, the business made such rapid progress, that, in half a century more, it counted its 50,000 inhabitants, which is an indisputable proof that the town was making enormous fortunes, and filling the coffers of Crœsus. The idea next follows, that its people must be decidedly rich and comfortable. What have we to say to this? To speak the truth, we must reply, that Leicester, after three centuries of chartered existence, consists, first, of a market place, containing 60 houses, and 20 of them have a very bad external appearance, and still worse internal comfort; second, of Gallowtreegate and Granby Streets, with 50 houses, there are but few of decent architecture

or comfort; third, of Humberstone Gate, with 60 houses, out of which only 10 are respectable; fourth, of Belgrave Gate, with 201 houses, the half of which should be pulled down, as they have only one window and one door, over which the roof threatens to fall; fifth, of Church Gate, with 108 houses, and 20 of such structure and appearance, that it is hardly credible such rubbish should obstruct the street; sixth, of High Street, with 82 houses, and 18 wretched huts, which seem to invoke passengers to knock them down; seventh, of Higheross and Southgate Streets, with 182 houses, amongst which there are 34 worn out, crooked and falling huts; eighth, of Market Street, with 28 houses, tolerably decent; ninth, of New Walk, with 60 houses, surrounded with little gardens, the only and sole respectable street in Leicester. Thus it contains ten leading streets, in which it may be said all the business of Leicester is done, amounting together to 830 houses, of which 142 hardly deserve the name of houses. Its pavements are laid down with petrified kidneys, that make walking a real penance. They have no good water to drink; and although the good Queen Elizabeth, as far back as 1573, granted a support to the "conduit," and then rebuilt it, three centuries have elapsed, the population has risen to 50,000, but its conduit has never been touched, although its people have produced avalanches of golden guineas. During its fairs, besides a display of the tricks of Harlequin, the beasts are exhibited in the principal streets. The meat and vegetables, exposed to dust, rain, and sun, are lying on any thing but clean forms, for the inspection of the people.

The numerous small, narrow, dark, and dirty streets, with eight or nine thousand miserable huts (see plate No. 1), are dens of filth and misery.* They are built in long rows, and called Wharf Street, Northampton Street, Sand Gate, Archdeaeon's Lane, Burley's Lane, Cumberland Row, and many more; and each of them with its twenty still more miserable branches, constitute the size of the town; with its pale, thin, dull-looking

^{*} In the whole town of Leicester, standing already for several hundred years, there is but one respectable shop and house, that of Mr Baines, Belvoir Street, newly erected in 1847. And although there are twenty or thirty more respectable shops, they are only respectable-looking, for the higher parts of the houses are built of dirty bricks, and present a most pitiful contrast. How many more towns, like Leicester, would not prove to be in the same state, did we but examine them.

people, who cling to the streets, although they seem to be ready for the grave. As to its gardens, or promenades, or public walks, they are like a dream, without reality. The people generally occupy the pavement, but for a change and a treat, they sometimes take the causeway. Its working-men are very poor, and its middle classes not much better; but the nobility and gentry, as soon as they have made their fortunes, leave the place.

The town of Newcastle is in no better condition. It will be sufficient to say, that at one of the meetings of the Committee for the Improvement of Health in Towns, a gentleman acknowledged that the only remedy would be to pull down the whole street of Sandgate, which caused much amusement!

The inhabitants of Northampton on the occasion of a great horse race, painted several streets to welcome their guests; who, besides enjoying a laugh, compared their houses to white washed tombs, rotten inside.

Similar deficiencies might be pointed out in all European towns; in which three-fourths of the population live in dirt, and thus shorten their lives. To redress such a pitiful condition, as the men of capital will not do it willingly, we must start an opposition, and rebuild the towns.

Leicester has 50,000 inhabitants. Supposing they may be ranged, with regard to different stations and trades, as follows:—

Merchants and their Families	, .				8000
Professional Gentlemen, and	Shopke	epers of	good	standing	
with Families, .					7000
Young Clerks, Young Men of	Busines	s, and A	rtists,		8000
Working-Men and their Fam	ilies,				30,000
					53.000

A merchant would require a house to contain father, mother, 3 children, 2 servants, and 1 assistant; in all, 8. A gentleman's house to contain father, mother, 3 children, 1 servant, and 1 assistant; together 7. Lodgers, such as clerks, men of business, artists, and so on, at the rate of 8 to one house. For working-men, a house to contain father, mother, and 3 children; in all, 5. Thus it would require the following number of houses:—

For Merchants,	1000, co	sting eac	h £1000,		£1,000,000
For Gentlemen,	1000,	,,	750,		750,000
For Lodgers,	1000,	"	750,		750,000
For Working-men	, 6000,	,,	500,		3,000,000
Thus 9000 houses	for 53.00	0 inhabit	ants will cos	st .	£5,500,000

To purchase the whole town, would cost treble of such a sum; to pull it down and build it again, ten times more. But to build new streets and squares in the vicinity, is an easy undertaking, in the same way as the people of Liverpool built Birkenhead, and as others are building new streets in all towns, with this simple difference, that it is not Mr Roe or Mr Doe that will build those houses, for private or individual use, but public men for public use, namely, the corporation of the town. Ten thousand houses may be built on the space of one thousand acres, or ten thousand, as formerly proposed, each upon 600 square yards, or 1 acre; and admitting such other land necessary for streets, squares, and markets, two thousand acres would be sufficient for 50,000 inhabitants, like Leicester. an amount of land may be easily bought out of town at 2s. 6d. a square yard; thus the land would cost £600,000. And what matters it if Leicester began from the first railway bridge on the Humberstone Road, or Belgrave Gate, and ran as far as Humberstone village, which is decidedly the finest plain that a town could be built upon? Or if it began at the race-course, and ran along towards London, and stood on a fine commanding hill, in the vicinity, and smiled with its beautiful towers towards the surrounding valleys and rivers? Now the question is, Where is the money? and how can a house that cost £500 pay at only £5 a year? and how another, that cost £750, can pay at only £20; whilst a third, that cost £1000, can pay at only £25, whilst the common interest from the first ought to be £25; from the second £37, 10s., and from the third, £50 per year?

Supposing now that the government was to lend the sum of $\mathcal{L}6,500,000$ to the mayor and corporation of any town of 50,000 inhabitants (elected and established upon different principles, as was explained already), on their responsibility, not in eash, but in paper-money, constructed for the purpose, whose currency in pound notes, five shillings, and half-crown notes, would be ordered by government, and sanctioned and practised by the nation, as the subjoined table of calculation shows.

MERCHANTS' LOAN.

Years.	Government Loan.	Interest.	Interest every 10 years.	Burning of Papers.	Total yearly payments,	Every 10 years.	Rent of one House.	Saved.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£ s.	- 65
1	1,000,000	50,000		15,000	65,000	~	65 0	£50,000 saved, with compound interest, would bring in
2	985,000	49,250		,	64,250		64 5	8
3 4	970,000	48,500			63,500		63 10	2
4	955,000	47,750			62,750		62 15	324
5 6	940,000	47,000			62,000		62 0	ed
7	$925,000 \\ 910,000$	$\frac{46,250}{45,500}$			61,250 60,500		61 5	, s
8	895,000	44,750			59,750		60 10 59 15	Ě
9	880,000	44,000			59,000		59 0	0
10	865,000	43,250	466,250	150,000	58,250	616,250	58 5	9
11	850,000	42,500	''	,	57,500	,,	57 10	혛
12	845,000	41,750			56,750		56 15	Ĕ
13	820,000	41,000			56,000		56 0	ď
14	805,000	40,250			55,250		55 5	ini
15	790,000	39,500			54,500		54 10	ter
16 17	775,000 760,000	38,750 38,000			53,750 53,000		53 15 53 0	est
18	745,000	37,250			52,250		52 5	, J
19	730,000	36,500			51,500		51 10	10.4
20	715,000	35,750	391,250	300,000	50,750	541,250	50 15	ula
21	700,000	35,000	352,200	000,000	50,000	311,000	50 0	6
22	685,000	34,250			49,250		49 5	₽.
23	670,000	33,500			48,500		48 10	0.5
24	655,000	32,750			47,750		47 15	n.
25*	640,000	32,000			47,000		47 0	20
26	625,000	31,250			46,250		46 5	4
27	610,000	30,500			45,500		45 10	ar
28	595,000	29,750			44,750	I	44 15	Ω.
29 30	580,000 565,000	$29,000 \\ 28,250$	316,250	150,000	44,000 43,250	466,250	44 0 43 5	€:
31	550,000	$\frac{26,250}{27,500}$	310,230	450,000	42,500	400,200	42 10	126
32	535,000	26,750			41,750		41 15	Ċ
33	520,000	26,000			41,000		41 0	20 years, £126,326, and in 26 years, £169,289
34	505,000	25,250			40,250		40 5	an
35	490,000	24,500			39,500		39 10	ā
36	475,000	23,750			38,750		38 15	in
37	460,000	23,000	1		38,000		38 0	26
38	445,000	22,250			37,250		37 5	Ϋ́
39	430,000	21,500	061.050	200.000	36,500 35,750	391,250	36 10 35 15	ar.
40	415,000 400,000	$20,750 \\ 20,000$	261,250	600,000	35,000	331,230	35 0	,50
42	385,000	19,250			34,250		34 5	7
43	370,000	18,500			33,500		33 10	69
44	355,000	17,750			32,750		32 15	င္သံု
45	340,000	17,000			32,000		32 0	9
46	325,000	16,250			31,250		31 5	
47	310,000	15,500			30,500		30 10	
48	285,000	14,750			29,750		29 15	
49	270,000	14,000	166,250	750 000	29,000	316,250	29 0	
50 51	265,000 250,000	$13,250 \\ 12,500$	100,250	750,000	28,250 27,500	010,200	$\begin{bmatrix} 28 & 5 \\ 27 & 10 \end{bmatrix}$	
52	235,000	12,500 $11,750$			26.750		26 15	
53	220,000	11,000			26,000		26 0	
54	205,000	10,250			25,250		25 5	
55	190,000	9,500			24,500		24 10	
56	175,000	8,750			23,750		23 15	
57	160,000	8,000			23,000		23 0	
58	145,000	7,250			22,250		22 5	
59	130,000	6,500	01.070	000.000	21,500	011.050	21 10	
60	115,000	5,750	91,250	900,000	20,750	241,250	$\begin{bmatrix} 20 & 15 \\ 20 & 0 \end{bmatrix}$	
61	100,000 85,000	$\frac{5,000}{4,250}$			20,000	0.	$\begin{bmatrix} 20 & 0 \\ 19 & 5 \end{bmatrix}$	
62 63	70,000	$\frac{4,250}{3,500}$	1 1		19,250 18,500		18 10	
64	55,000	2,750	l i		17,750	-	17 15	
65	40,000	2,000			17,000		17 0	
66	25,000	1,250			10,250		16 5	
67	5,000	500	19,250	1,005,000	15,500	124,250	15 10	
68	0	0	0	0	0	0		

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES.

One thousand merchants' houses at £1000 each, would cost £1,000,000 (paid in paper money), for the labour and materials, to tradesmen. The interest from £1,000,000 is £50,000 per year, therefore, each house paying £50, one thousand of them would pay the first year, £50,000, or the interest of the loan. But each of those houses, paying £15 more, one thousand of them will make £15,000, for which amount the paper money shall be bought, and publicly burnt in the market-place by the corporation, and make thus the government debt £15,000 less, and the rent, therefore, of each house, £65 the first year. Next year, the loan being lessened by £15,000 of destroyed paper, the real debt will be only £985,000, of which the interest amounts to £49,250, thus making the rent of each house £49, 5s., added to which £15 for burnt papers, will make the total rent of one house only £64, 5s. or one thousand of them, £64,250. The third year, the loan being lessened by £30,000 burnt papers, makes the real debt £970,000, of which the interest, with another purchase of £15,000 papers, would amount to £63,500, and the rent of each house only £63, 10s. At the end of ten years, the papers being burnt to the amount of £150,000, makes the eleven years' debt £850,000, the interest of which being £42,500 and £15,000 more of burnt papers, make together £57,500, or the rent of each house £57, 10s.

The 21st	year's debt	shall be on	ly £700,000, and	d the rent	of each house	e, £50	0
The 31st	,,	,,	550,000,	,,	,,	42	10
The 41st	,1	,,	400,000,	,,	,,	35	0
The 51st	,,	"	250,000,	,,	,,	27	10
The 61st	,,	,,	100,000,	,,	,,	20	0
The 68th	,,	,,	0,	,,	"	14	15

The rent, therefore, of each house, after 67 years, may be reduced to L.15 per year, although the lowering of the rent stops in the 55th year, and continues for ever at L.25 per annum. The sum of L.50,000 saved at the outset, put out to interest at 5 per cent., amounts in 20 years to L.126,326, and in 25 years to L.169,289, as shown in the table. Of this sum, L.50,000 is laid out for the reparation of the houses, at the average of L.50 for each, to be continued every 20 years:

another L.50,000 is put for a new per centage for the next 25 years, so as to bring a constant and regular income, for the same object; and the remainder, L.69,289, will be left in the hands of the corporation treasury, for different town expenses; as for instance, building of poor houses, as named and proposed hereafter. Thus in 67 years, the whole of the papers of L.1,005,000 will be destroyed, leaving L.5000 of surplus; and thus free the corporation from its farther guarantee. The total rent of houses the first year, was L.616,250; second, L.541,250: third, L.466,250; and so on as the table shows, and amounts altogether to L.2,711,750; out of which sum the papers bought and burnt, cost L.1,000,000; thus leaving in the hands of government, a profit of L.1.711.750, as a recompense to the guarantee for paper money. The houses are now the property of the town; and furnished as they are with the dowry of L.50 for each, to be spent every 20 years in their improvement and alteration, may be given to the merchants, even at the yearly rent, L.15, although it shall stop at L.25 annually, (see the asterisk,) and one thousand of such houses, beautifully built, elegantly furnished, and free from all debt, will bring in future the sum of L.25,000 a-year, which shall be the property of the town.

The other order of houses for gentlemen and shopkeepers, and those also for lodgers, will only differ in number, as the second table (the Gentlemen's Loan) shows. We see, then, that another loan of L.750,000, will require L.37,000 to pay the interest; and another L.15,000 for burning papers, will make it L.52.000. or the rent of each for the first year, L.52, 10s.; or L.13 less than the merchants' houses. The tenth year the debt will be, after burning L.150,000 of papers, only L.600,000; and the interest of it, with the bought papers for burning, will amount to L.45,000; and each house rent will be only L.45. By burning L.15,000 of papers regularly every year, in the course of 50 years, the debt will be burnt; and as the total rent of it was L.1.706.250, and the papers destroyed amounted to L.750,000, a clear profit of L.956,250 is therefore left to government; more than the guaranteed value of papers. These houses, now also become the property of the town, beautiful and comfortable as they are, might be let for L.15 a-year, although the rent stops in the 45th year, and continues for ever at L.20 annually. (See the asterisk.)

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GENTLEMEN AND LODGERS' LOAN.

Years.	Government Loan.	Interest,	Interest every 10 years.	Burning of Papers.	Total Rent.	Every 10 years.	One House.	"Daved"
	£	$ \varepsilon$	£	£	c	£	£ s.	
1	750,000	37,500		15,000	52,500		52 10	
2	735,000	36,750		20,000	51,750		51 15	
3	720,000	36,000			50,000		51 0	
4	705,000	35,250			50,250		50 5	1
5	690,000	34,500			49,500		49 10	1 3
6	675,000	33,750		1	48,750		48 15	
7	666,000	33,000		1	47,250		48 0	
8	645,000	32,250			46,500		47 5	9
9	630,000	31,500			45,750		46 10	
10	615,000	30,750	941.050	150,000	45,000	491,250	45 15	7
11	600,000	30,000	341,250	150,000	40,000	401,200	45 10	. 3
12			,				40 0	-
	585,000	29,250						-
13 14	570,000	28,500						
15	555,000	27,750						5
16	540,000	27,000						•
	525,000	26,250						9
17	510,000	25,500						3
18	495,000	24,750						5
19	480,000	24,000	222 222	000 000	00.050	410 050	00 5	Ė
20	465,000	23,250	266,250	300,000	38,250	416,250	38 5	(II
21	450,000	22,500			37,500		37 10	-
22	435,000	21,750						3
23	420,000	21,000						*
24	405,000	20,250						
25	390,000	19,500						,
26	375,000	18,750						ì
27	360,000	18,000						Ş
28	345,000	17,250						1
29	330,000	16,500						,,
30	315,000	15,750	191,250	450,000	30,750	341,250	30 15	
31	300,000	15,000			30,000		30 0	-
32	285,000	14,250						
33	270,000	13,500						Ċ
34	255,000	12,750						- 5
35	240,000	12,000						
36	225,000	11,250						9
37	210,000	10,500						-
38	195,000	9,750						3
39	180,000	9,000						Ç
40	165,000	8,250	166,250	680,000	23,250	266,250	23 5	
41	150,000	7,500	,	,	22,508		22 10	
42	135,000	6,750			,		21 15	
43	120,000	6,000					21 0	
44	105,000	5,250					20 5	
45*	90,000	4,500					*19 10	
46	75,000	3,750					18 15	
47	60,000	3,000					18 0	
48	45,000	2,250					17 5	
49	30,000	1,500					16 10	
50	15,000	750		750,000	15,750	191,250	15 15	
			965,250	750,000		1706,250		_

The order of houses for lodgers shall have no falling of rent; and from the first year the charges of lodgings shall be as before mentioned; so that eight lodgers in one house will pay L.104 a-year; but should even the half of them only be occupied, the rent would amount to L.50 each, or one thousand of them L.50,000 a-year; they originally cost L.750,000, the interest of which being only L.37,500, will leave in the hands of the corporation a balance of L.32,500, the very first year, and so much more every succeeding year. If the houses should have a full complement of lodgers, which could not be doubted for a moment, from their very cheap and most comfortable accommodation, they will bring L.104 a-year; and, after paying the interest, L.37,500, and buying papers for L.15,000, they would leave a profit the first year of L.51,500 for the benefit of the town.

The order of houses for the working-men should be dealt with differently, for this is the class of very poor men, who require a little sympathy and consideration. They are not able to pay any sum beyond L.5 a-year, and even that sum with great difficulty. They are born to die penniless, but they are very useful and very necessary to society, which could do nothing without them; their services are valuable, their sacrifices great, and they should be spared much more than they are at present. Their houses will cost L.500 each, or rather, L.475-L.25 being saved for interest, as explained before; it would amount, in 25 years, to the sum of L.84,6441 for repairs and improvements every 20 years. There are several new houses in England, built by working-men themselves for their own use; some of them are really beautiful. They have 4 rooms, kitchen, pantry, washhouse, vard, and cellars; built of from 12,000 to 15,000 bricks at 26s. a thousand. Some of them cost L.150—others L.200 including land, bricks, carpentry, and workmanship, (three workmen are quite able to build one in two months.) The interest of L.500,000 would amount to L.25,000 a-year, or L.25 to each house; and if the purchase and burning of papers were only L.5000, or L.5 each house, it would make the rent of one house L.30. Government, therefore, should charge nothing for the interest of its paper notes, but simply levy L.5 from each house in payment of the principal-for which sum papers shall be yearly bought and destroyed; so that, after 100 years, the principal debt of L.500,000 would be entirely paid. Then the houses would become the property of the town. The greater number

of them, as for instance, 6000 houses for 50,000 working-men, as in Leicester, will produce the rent of L.30,000 per annum. Such a boon bestowed upon men who are the producers of all the luxuries and comforts of a nation, would be honourable to any government, any president, any king, any nation. The government would become very rich from other quarters, and could afford to assist one of its most useful, and needy classes of men.

Admitting, therefore, that 50,000 inhabitants require

1,000 Merchants' houses, to contain 7,000 persons;
1,000 Gentlemen's " " 7,000 "
1,000 Lodgers' " , 8,000 "
6,000 Working-men's " 30,000 "

It requires 9,000 houses to contain 52,000 inhabitants.

Admitting, also, that there were 500 houses more built for wealthier inhabitants, at the expense of L.2000 each, a kind of villas, with parks, gardens, &c., the expense would amount to L.1,000,000 more. They would burn L.20,000 of paper each year; the rent of the first year would be L.120 each, in 50 years the whole of the papers would be destroyed, and the rent of each such princely villa, would fall to L.50 a-year, and continue so; which would bring the sum of L.25,000 annually to the treasury. They would increase the amount of loan, and make it altogether L.6,500,000.

Let us now see what profit the government would have at the expiration of 67 years—

In 67 years, the loan for Merchants' Houses would bring a profit of £1,711,750 50 Rich parties' 1,711,750 50 Gentlemen's 965,250 ٠, 50 Lodgers' 965,250 ,, Working-men's 100 0 ,, ,, ,,

Thus the profit to government will be £5,354,000

The houses will thus be free from debt, except those for working-men, to clear which, another 50 years will be required, after which time it will bring annually by its rents, to the treasury of the town, as follows:—

500 Rich parties' hous	es, at £50 per year,	£25,000
1000 Merchants' "	at 25 each,	25,000
1000 Gentlemen's "	at 20 ,,	20,000
1000 Lodgers',	at 100 .,	100,000
6000 Working-men's	at 5 "	30,000
9500 Houses	Annual rent.	£200,000

Proposing now the entire abolition of all taxes whatsoever, and paying instead thereof a universal tax from each town of 50,000 inhabitants, the sum of L.100,000 per annum, exactly the half of the rent gathered by the corporation, it would bring the government, from 500 towns, each containing 50,000 inhabitants, a yearly revenue of L.50,000,000, or L.2 a-head throughout the country. Such a revenue will be independent of income tax, of export and import duties, land tax. &c. &c. The expense of building 500 such earthly paradises, would be L.3,250,000,000, or rather so many sheets of silver paper for pounds, crowns, and half-crown notes; and as each town will burn them yearly with great joy, such paper currency would be extinguished in 50 years. The profit accruing to government in bullion, would amount to no less than L.5,354,000 from each town, or from 500 towns. L.2,677,000,000 in gold. The government will then be rich, with its regular revenue of L.50,000,000 annually—the half of which yearly revenue is sufficient now to support the present navy, army, and civil government of the country. The half of such a sum, is the whole value of the present English exports. Government then may think of paying off its national debt; which burden alone, would serve as a sufficient reason for such a gigantic undertaking. It may then also think of the dethronement of Rothschild, who grasped at the dignity of a universal emperor, and is now the misruling king of every country. It is only then, and not until then, that the nations could free themselves from the aristocracy; and, proclaiming the aristocracy of mind, submit themselves-not to the yokes of tyrants-not to the abuses of ministers or country parties-not to the caprice of soit-disant King Citizens; but to the sacred sanctuary of laws, over which the virtuous and moral king or president, will be a guardian.

Eighteen centuries have hurried into the devouring abyss of the past, which has swallowed up thousands of emperors, kings, popes, generals, and reformers, and extinguished the glory of their names for ever; and millions of men have sunk low into their narrow beds, in preference to enjoying its spontaneous productions; and their sanguine struggles have ended always in producing a hunchback dwarf, who, with insolent foot, has trampled upon mankind, revelled upon the deformed passions of men's blindness, fed upon their misery, and squandered the treasures of nature. 'Tis the wrath of heaven for their deafness and dis-

obedience to the Almighty, who did not send down Christ to form an aristocracy of the early ages—that of rank and power for the Son of God had no titles; nor did he fight battles, but washed the feet of his apostles; neither to form the aristocracy of the middle ages—that of birth—for he was born in a stable; nor yet to form the aristocracy of modern times—that of money for he said. "exact no more than that which is due." The followers and apostles of Christ were the aristocracy of mind; and by the sanction of the Son of God were sent all over the world to preach the gospel, or the heavenly code of laws, short and simple, concentrated in the ten commandments, whilst all the laws of men, extending to billions of volumes and languages, embracing the space of fifty ages, when put together are only an earthly mediocrity, a failure, a falling far short of the ten commandments. One word of God was sufficient to create order upon this earth; while generation after generation has passed away and yet mankind cannot obey his will, or use his bounties for the end for which they were intended. Mankind must cease to dispute regarding the heavenly doctrines; for a man's brain can never devise heaven, he must only act in accordance with its holy ordinances, or misery will be his eternal lot.

On the other hand, the mayor and corporation of the town shall have at their disposal L.100,000 of yearly revenue to pay the public instructors and dignitaries of the town, to maintain a large police, to erect and support churches, town and country schools, to pay gas and water companies, build theatres, concert rooms, mechanics' halls, poor houses, to keep in order all public parks, squares, gardens, and so on. There would not be the least danger of issuing such an amount of papers as L.3,250,000,000 in a country whose 20,000,000 inhabitants require at least 1s. worth of provisions each daily to support their lives. yearly provisions would amount to the sum of L.365,000,000; admitting that their clothing and lodgings amount to a similar sum, it requires every year L.730,000,000 for the necessaries of life, independent of trade, foreign markets, and colonial supplies. The whole country, besides, will burn each year paper money to the amount of L.32,500,000; or in ten years the circulation of papers would be less by L.325,000,000. The greatest part of the furniture, now in possession of the inhabitants, will be bought by the government, as useful, and the money paid for it; each town would receive L.800,000; or 500 towns, L.400,000,000. All

this money shall be left in the hands of private individuals as fortunes. A great number of houses will remain, such as those that are comfortable, in good order, of good material, and built on plenty of land. Those houses which have stood for hundreds of years, ought, and no doubt have already paid themselves tenfold, and the possessors should be satisfied with the fortunes they have made. The houses, however, that have not been built so long, and are good, will be purchased by government at the valued price; and those which are worth nothing but bricks shall be paid for accordingly. When the railway lords started their smooth lines, they did not question the numerous owners of inns, hotels, coach-offices, what loss they would be to them; they swept off all their incomes, and left them aghast. But the government now will inquire into the probable losses of the landlords of houses, and remunerate them, provided they will give such sums back to the government, at five per cent. interest, to build the towns, and be satisfied with its per centage for fifty years, when the loan will be wholly repaid. Such money, received from remunerated landlords, government will place in the creditable banks of support, to be lent to different tradesmen in the different towns, who wish to embark in business, and dispense with private credit, at 10 per cent., and fifty years will clear enough to pay the original loan taken from the landlords. Such a plan will not injure one single individual, and would be a new field for the employment of millions.

We have seen that the principal business and trade of Leicester is embraced in 830 houses; 1000, therefore, of still larger houses for merchants, 500 for gentlemen, 500 for lodgers, and 3000 for working-men, would be sufficient for more than half the inhabitants of the town and the urgency of trade, and would require only half of the originally proposed government loan. There is no reason why a town should be heaped together like potatoes, or why it should not run in a line along the railways, a mile or two distant into the country, or by the side of the public road. So many splendid vicinities, beautiful parks, or botanic gardens, would be of the greatest advantage to the adjacent streets. What a magnificent castle could not M.P.'s have on different rising grounds, which abound throughout the country; and these would add to the beauty and the wonders of the country! The gas and water-pipes would require the same length—the squares and splendid gardens would be every half-a-mile or so-every body

would live in the town and country at once! With what bliss would the majesty of the rising sun be welcomed by the musical bands of the town, sweetly breaking the dreams of the night, and calling the inhabitants to the business of the day; or in the evening, with the melancholy hymns of an evening band, to greet the charming rays of the setting sun. The streets, which would be fifty-six yards wide, would have their sides filled with rails for carriages, or small locomotives, to carry passengers here and there, every quarter of an hour, to all extremities of the town. Even should the town be built similar to what it is now. such railways should be put into requisition, instead of cabs. The tickets entitling to go all the day long, no matter how many times, would be only one penny a-day; and if only the fourth part of the inhabitants availed themselves of tickets for a day, 10,000 tickets would bring L.50 per day, for the support of such conveyance. What a quick delivery of merchandise, goods, parcels, provisions, and orders, for which there would be separate cards; or an arrangement might also be made, to construct separate carriages for working-men, to carry them at certain hours to the manufactories and back again, at a little expense, say one shilling per annum. 30,000 working-men in a year would bring an income of L.1500 to the town railway. The street for carriages would be 20 yds. wide, both sides for rails, 4 vds. each; both sides for gardens, 10 yds. each; both sides for pavements, 4 vds. each; total breadth of the street, 56 vds. The ends of gardens close to the town rails should be planted with poplars, and other high trees, to afford shelter and comfort to passengers walking upon a good and broad pavement. gardens of Eden, earthly paradises, could be made of this earth, if men were but wise. The whole towns would be pleasing panoramas of so many beautifully painted houses. The different Gothic, Gallie, German, and Italian styles, would please the eye and cheer the heart. The variety of the surrounding scenery, here, mountains,—there, villages,—yonder, forests and rivers,—could not but fill a man's breast, in the pursuance of his daily business, with that holy inward inspiration, which would make him thankful and mindful of his Great Creator, and prompt him to act honourably and kindly to others. The approaching similarity of position of village houses, accounts for the differences of human feelings and actions, and as many honest and upright men are in each village, so many hundreds of rogues and

swindlers are in each town. The merchants' houses may be constructed in large squares, with water basins in the middle, not far from each other, hotels and lodging-houses here and there, the factories a few miles out of town, the working-men's houses nearest to them for convenience sake. The mayor of the town should have his eastle built in the prettiest part of it, and with a due complement of livery servants, horses, and equipages given to him, during his office, with a yearly salary of L.3000 or L.4000. He ought to be elected every five years, and might be re-elected three successive times, to the extent of fifteen years. The aldermen should have their palaces furnished fully, and equipped, quite free, with a corresponding handsome yearly pay, sufficient to support the dignity of the town. mayor and such a corporation would take a parental interest in the welfare of the inhabitants; they would then do their duty, for they would have the means to do so. They should report the income and expense of the treasury; they should build and improve, pull down and re-construct what the inhabitants might desire, for it would be the public property and at its expense. But the mayor, now, besides his great expense in securing the office, has no other remuneration but trouble, and everlasting applications to his purse. What benefit has he, what recompense, what interest in the inhabitants, except to gain back his election money, spent upon his purchased electors? What opinion, what esteem, can he cherish for those men, whose favour and opinion he was obliged to bribe? And then what justice can a man do to the town, to its improvements, its alterations, in the short time of one year? What interest can he feel in beginning plans for others to finish, or to postpone, or pervert, or never, perhaps, accomplish? One year is hardly sufficient for the contemplation and production of a plan, much less for its execution. L.100,000 a-year would enable the corporation to maintain a large police; they are a very useful class to society, and are far more beneficial than soldiers. Their number, in each town, is now too small, their pay too little, and the trouble and hazard enormous. The cabs of the town should also be supported by the corporation. In many towns it is quite sickening to see those half-starved horses and dirty cabmen. Some towns are superior in that respect to others, yet they are not what they ought to be. In different streets there should be different stands between the houses—a kind of coach-house, with a small room or

two, to shelter both the horses and drivers. All front gardens, squares, and public walks, should be under the superintendence of gardeners, with yearly salaries; they would ornament, benefit, and improve the air of towns. The tenants should be permitted to add anything at their own expense; but a certain good order should be prescribed and kept in each town. The public bands of the town to play, each morning and evening, in the gardens, squares, and markets, weather permitting. The town should have a building, similar to that of Liverpool, for a meat and vegetable market. The sight of meat thrown upon dirty forms, covered with rags, in the open streets, amongst the dust, is disgusting; every butcher ought to have his neat clean shop, and so also the vegetable venders. Liverpool, Newcastle, Covent Garden, present luxuries, alas! known to few towns. A cattlemarket should be a little out of town, on the wayside. It is quite horrid, on a market-day, to witness the cattle parading the streets. Such a market should be a square, a little out of town, surrounded with a high wall to cover all within, and a horse railway might lead to it. A similar square, also surrounded with a high wall, should be built in another part of the town, and appointed for shows at the fair-time. Inside of it, a small kind of theatre and several large rooms should be constructed for the performance of different tricks and exhibitions. All the actors should perform jointly, which would be of more benefit to them, and more amusement to the public. The obstruction of streets caused at fair-times, with paltry booths, and crowds of ragged spectators, indulging in the most vulgar expressions and manners, is quite horrible, whilst the dirt and smell produced by different cattle, weekly on market-days, is quite disgusting. The town should be more protected and left unmolested. prices of meat, bread, and other provisions, should be fixed, as it is in Germany, Poland, and France, by the board of commerce; it should be done so in every metropolis, and the tariffs of such prices forwarded to all towns. To prevent the imposition of private venders, some shops of butchers, bakers, and provisiondealers, should be established in town as a government or corporation market, where all the food should be sold at the regulated price of the metropolitan market board; it would prevent many mischiefs and tricks of small dealers, who raise the prices, whilst there is not the least occasion for it. In case of scarcity or failure of some provisions, government, acquainted beforehand,

should make a purehase abroad, and send such from the metropolitan ports by railway to the corporations' depots in different towns, at the lowest prices, and thus check the shameful schemes of avaricious and heartless men, who make a sport of the distress of the inhabitants, and rob the public whilst in difficulty. The most cruel instances of that kind have been performed with the coolest effrontery. It is a wholesale robbery, sanctioned by the autocrats, who degenerate the nations of men into a parcel of swindlers. The eorn trade is now carried on in Europe to the eternal disgrace of the farmers. They, as a body in general, held in 1847 enormous quantities of it in stacks, greater in extent than they ever held before, which, together with the winnowed wheat they held in granaries, was a sufficient store to prevent panic; but they withheld it to make it dearer, and then to enrich themselves, through means of the starvation of the public. The expectation of realizing enormous prices makes many of them keep it for years, and they go to market even without a sample; many of them have been already publicly exposed for hiding it for nine years! Is this commerce or villany? To hide themselves like foxes, and keep food till they really produce starvation, and then fall upon the public with ruinous prices, and, as if with sharp teeth, tear their pockets. An honest government should oppose such malicious traps, by furnishing corporations with foreign corn, when the prices of private speculators rise too high, and by stipulating once and for ever the sale price of it. If foreign governments can publish such corn tariffs, and interfere between the seller and the buyer. why should not the English do the same? Why should not the corporations build large town granaries, and accumulate the stock whilst it is cheap? Men would then be obliged to be honest, for the whole town would know what the storing of granaries cost, and at what price they should be sold again. The inhabitants, then, might demand the corporation to purchase for them, and have an honest and just percentage and remuneration for their trouble; it would be more honourable to the people, to offer such reward willingly, than to be robbed like fools by private speculators. The same precautions should be taken with beverage. Several beautiful public hotels, with large clean rooms, with the best beverage and at the lowest price, should be built by the corporation, for the accommodation of working-men, as well as respectable hotels for the young gentlemen of the

town; the other dealers selling inferior poisoning stuffs, should be punished by the law. The corporation should have the oversight of all branches of commerce to prevent impositions. For the same cause the town should build four or five grand bazaars, differently situated in the town, containing cloth, linen, and woollen goods, silk, iron, jewellery, and all sorts of goods, with the price fixed by the metropolitan board. In such a town, bazaarclerks would sell articles at their proper value, and the inhabitants would then learn their real cost. Every family in town should pay the doctor's fee, whether they want him or not; such payment would come to but very little, yet so many families supporting one doctor, would afford room for native talents, and, by securing his position, would do away with all sorts of trickery practised by quacks. Such a doctor will be bound to visit his families periodically once or twice a-month; he would know their habits, their way of living, their nourishment, their employment, and, in case of illness, there would be no additional expense. Ten or twelve beautiful boarding seminaries for young ladies and gentlemen should be built by the town, under the superintendence of influential ladies and gentlemen of the town. Governesses and tutors, natives if possible, should be appointed by the said ladies and gentlemen. The rent and board would come to very little, and education far cheaper and more correct, for all the tutors would be under the control of the town.

To expand such education wider, a town should have two or three concert or lecture rooms, which, as soon as a lecturer or band had acquired talent and renown, should be given to them gratis, and their travelling from one town to another be free by railway. There would be more clever men instructing and amusing the public than there are now, for the enormous and most unjust expenses fly into the pockets of innkeepers, instead of enriching the clever and accomplished; and incomes of most renowned artists sink between printer, railway, and a concert-room. Then, above all things, men should be anxious to have a respectable and decent spot to rest their bones in peace, and await the last judgment, but the cemeteries of towns, with a few exceptions, are like the charnel heaps of a battle-field, studded with stones as offensive as were the lives of those whose memories they are designed to perpetuate.

There are still not a few conveniences and comforts quite overlooked in the present time, because the management of them is left to the caprice of private speculation, and the veil of secrecy covers them all; yet, were all similar transactions under the laws and protection of the towns, things would assume a different appearance altogether. The mayor and corporation, with L.100,000 a-year, independent of the rest of the usual town's revenue, which, with its rents from schools, markets, fairs, tolls, and railways, might easily be doubled. Such sums could do wonders in course of time, and be made to secure such order, elegance, and comfort, to its inhabitants, as never can be anticipated nor expected, so long as the power and liberty of dealings are left uncontrolled. The arrangement, by government, of a universal tax, will make it extremely rich, capable, and bound to act with all propriety and expedition.

Here we perceive that the following schemes would make the present distress and embarrassment disappear. First, The poor man has his beautiful house fitted, repaired, and furnished, large and comfortable, for L.5 a year. Second, The merchant has his beautiful shop and house furnished, for L.25 annually; gentlemen and lodgers theirs, far superior to the present, and ten times cheaper, or from 2s. to 8s. per week. Third, The mayor and corporations, rich, powerful, rewarded, and honoured, capable to act for the benefit of all classes of the inhabitants, with the power and means to improve and beautify the towns. Fourth, Labour emancipated, and righteous or direct commerce established; all the working-men employed in the town factories for life, with their wages trebled, and their half and full pensions on retiring, with no power that could turn them out unjustly; the female workers treated the same way, Fifth, The members of Parliament or Assembly properly elected and rewarded. Sixth, The travelling by railways easy and cheap, bringing enormous sums to the treasury of the towns, and to the government. Seventh, Failures of banks arrested and prevented. Eighth, Commerce properly protected, bankruptcy prevented, support to debtors given, houses of support established. Ninth, New and just laws, in accordance with the advancement of society, and its altered necessities, established, and morally enforced. Tenth, Condition of numerous classes of clerks and professionals improved and enriched. Eleventh, Prices of provisions levelled with those of other nations; their import and export regulated and facilitated. Twelfth, All fortunes of capitalists, landlords, bankers, and all rich men doubled in one day! Thirteenth, Five or six millions of

men colonised abroad, and helped properly, bringing in future great riches to the country; and thus misery, starvation, begging and pauperism, banished from nations for ever. Fourteenth, The governments powerful, rich, from so many noble, wise, and just undertakings, confident, watching over the safety, comfort, prosperity, and employment of all classes of the nation, capable of paying their national debts, and to stop the progress and reign of the money aristocraey. And six schemes more, as explained in the following treatise, making altogether twenty, which would render the present distress and misery of mankind quite null.

When we take a survey of the history of mankind, we see in its annals two principal elements which nourished and agitated the human mind. First, Societies of men constantly changing the forms of their government, and assiduously struggling to establish its perfection; Second, The governments constantly extending their boundaries, and assiduously struggling to establish their superiority over others. This is characteristic of the history of the whole world. It required eighteen centuries to arrive at the conclusion that men and nations will ever take the advantage of each other, if permitted; to prevent which, men must create a barrier upon which they must suspend the balancing scales of nations, call it representative government, or the laws of nations, and suspend them upon a constitutional hook, or the laws of each people. Eighteen centuries have thus elapsed, and only a small part of the globe, called Western Europe, struggles to adopt such a form, leaving the rest of human beings in a perfect chaos of confusion. The governments of that part of Europe are the only nations who partly succeeded in their They boast of their constitution being wise and just. Oh! how happy a state of things it would be, so bright and promising to mankind, were they but real! but, alas! they are only nominal. All the governments of the middle ages were the dependants of the aristocracy of birth, and all of them now are the serfs of, and tremble before the aristocracy of money, and, in spite of all improvements and progresses, of which we so proudly boast, society, to its very bottom, is exactly what it was in the middle ages, the distinction and variance being only its different forms, denominations, and the different hands that wield the power, and the hierarchy the same as in the middle ages,-a plebeian working-man is condemned to eternal hard work, hunger, and thirst, to his eternal tenth, or taxes; over him the

patrician merchant, that feudal noble; and over both of these, the despotic bankers and capitalists, those feudal princes and earls, before whom all the present kings stand chapeaux bas.

With such a gloomy prospect of the future,—with such a disastrous vision before our eyes, as Nicholas suspending his sharpedged sword on one hair over the head of Europe, and his knout on another over her intellectuality,—kings enjoy themselves pretty well, pay fashionable visits to each other, exchange their likenesses; the money aristocracy dance polka; the monstrous Jullien and the rest of the clique, are the topic of conversation, and fill up the papers. The farmers lock up their corn in thousands of bushels in the granaries, and starve humanity; and thus, gaily and merrily, governments dream, and the people starve!

Is there no people, no nation in the world, that are ready, willing, to stand up in defence of threatened humanity, and by forming a strong and powerful government, a virtuous, a moral one, to form a buckler against the gathering thunderbolts, and shield society? Is human society to be for ever the prey and victim of misery? Is it to bathe eternally in its own blood and tears? Is it destined never to have a proper government? Western Europe has tried already, at four different periods, to develope such a government, and formed its Owenism, its St Symonism, its Furyism, its Communism; but none of these systems were sufficiently good to answer the emergency, and were wrecked against the rocks of the secrecy of government.

To invest government with the building of towns, shops, palaces, and factories, with supporting an army of working-men, with embracing the commerce, regulating the lands, giving the nation education, facilitating exports and imports, in order to accumulate the riches upon one altar of the country, is decidedly a third and new epoch in the civilization of mankind; of which the first was the Christianity of the middle ages; the second, the French Revolution. That moral revolution reveals itself now: it will gather and burst out a moral government and aristocracy of mind! The inauguration of such a government in Great Britain would be proclaimed as an unlimited monopoly given to such government, and as a tool placed within its hands, to gain all the advantage, and to oppress. But this would be only the vain exclamations of idle minds. The government has a right to build houses, as well as the nobles and private

speculators; it is merely a just opposition to legalised injustice. Government will not build them to amass riches, but to afford cheapness,-not to take the advantages of the loan, and its constantly increasing percentage, but to get the money slowly back again, and then claim only half of the revenue for its support. Private individuals will be permitted to build theirs, provided they shall be satisfied with such profits as the government has, otherwise their work will stand unclaimed, as no one will purchase, or patronise them. The government will build factories, not to impose upon the producer and consumer, by exorbitant prices, and unjust fluctuations, but to offer due remuneration to one, and fairness and cheapness to the other. The government, with the assistance of corporations, will know how many to employ, and where; and the working-men will be constantly employed, and have their retiring pensions, which no private parties ever dreamt of. Individuals shall be then permitted to build similar factories, and to employ and remunerate the men similarly, in their own factories; yet as avarice has risen to such a height, that men, in spite of their own labour, cannot live and maintain themselves, opposition must be formed.

The government in this instance of building houses, as in all the others, explained at each end, does come as a mediator and a helper, and not as a master and usurper, to the different classes of the nation. By building a house at the expense of L.1,000, it receives the sum and the percentage of it in 50 years, this being the just and lawful remuneration of the outlay; after which it reduces its rent to L.15 a-year, free from all taxes whatever, with plenty of resource in hand, to renovate them every 20 years; whilst, for the same sum laid out by a private party, men must pay now the extravagant sum of L.150 every year, with an addition of L.50 for taxes, and no improvements whatsoever. Governments by building factories, poorhouses, and schools, only receives its outlay back, and the percentage of it, and it bestows it afterwards upon society as a gift for future generations. Had our forefathers done so, mankind would have felt now the benefit of it. A nation has it in its full power to insist upon government to carry out such an undertaking, if it is civilized enough to see the blessings of it. must, however, begin with the proper election of its members of Parliament, as well as the proper and endowed elections of its mayors and corporations, as was already explained.

Should, therefore, such a plan find its bitter antagonists, as doubtless it will, incited by avarice, selfishness, and perversion, backed with the sophistry of skilful advocates, and the stubborn patrons and defendants of the rotten foundations of society;—they will not be capable to silence the visible crying truth, for injustice and imposition are always injustice and imposition; and although they may be even decked in royal adamantine garments, they will be as mere tiffany to the argus eyes of intellect.

Out of all the nations that ever existed upon the surface of earth, only two were placed in a situation to establish such a government; England, under Cromwell; France, under Napoleon. The latter, endowed as he was with military genius, upsetting and shaking the thrones of Europe to their foundations, might, by the force of his power, by the extent of his genius, have sealed the gloomy records of suffering mankind, and become the godly instrument of the independence and welfare of all nations, and established governments and kings worthy of the age; yet, alas! pride and vanity nailed him to a rock, and he pined away the miserable remainder of his days like a chained Proteus, and an example of the wrath of heaven. There is now but one nation upon the surface of the earth, which providence seems to have predestined to this holy task, a nation which pines now in its chains, with its wandering Ulysses and Telemacque!—This is Poland, with its exiled royal princes.* After the bloodshed of nearly a century, under the tyranny of foreign despots; lowered, insulted, depopulated, burned, and ruined with fire and sword prepares its resurrection—which predicts the resurrection of Tired of its anarchical republicanism, cheated by its foreign protectors, sick of wars, exhausted with torments, it looks forward to a bright star, upon the clearing away of the gloomy sky, with hope and presentiment of holy feeling, that her crucifixion is for the regeneration of mankind. Split as she is into various parts among foreign aggressors, with her sons scattered in the five parts of the world, torn to pieces at home, she shows in her fractured atoms that heaven works in it the crystalization of a certain inconceivable, unravelled substance, which shall become the corner-stone of the future social edifice.

Seventeen years of exile of the Polish emigrants were spent in discussing and examining the different forms of government,

^{*} Prince Adam Czartoryski—the righteous Polish king, and his son, Prince Withold.

whilst the position of western Europe furnished a perfect sample for consideration. They came close to those countries of which they heard so much whilst at home;—they minutely examined the facts, and found out that there is a vast difference between things as they are spoken of by the press, and things as they really exist. Poverty, distress, want of order, weakness of governments, impositions of monopolizing parties, make a havoe as dreadful as tyranny in Poland and Russia. These strong facts prompted some to devise a government, that would be applicable to all countries. To emancipate man's labour, assure him of employment, to create a direct commerce, to give money to really deserving parties, and make it the article of immediate exchange, is the attempt of this small work.

The building of towns, therefore, by the government in Poland, under the reduced incomes of its present inhabitants, the poverty of its middle class, and the misery of the peasants; and, above all, under the circumstances of pillage and burnings, which by long wars, reduced the country of late years, would not only be the greatest favour and benefit that could be conferred upon the whole people, but it will no doubt be sought by them, and considered as a great compliment and boon on the part of government. The land and houses there did not rise to such unjustifiable prices, as is the case in other European nations, swarming with speculators; for there is no necessity for such an overwhelming number of shops in a country whose inhabitants, with the exception of Jews and foreigners, are chiefly farmers of their own villages, and a race of gentlemen who have been always noted for their retired habits, and contentment with their limited fortunes, thus being the reverse in character and tendency to either the English or French. It is not to be expected that a nation can regenerate itself all at once-for wise and reasonable men are not numerous—or build its towns, railways, and factories all at once-but the construction of a few houses, a few miles of rails, and a few factories in each town at a time, by governments, as opposition, may be accomplished with the greatest ease.

Poland seems to be the sole nation in the whole world, which, with a peculiar inward instinct, has always shunned commercial propensities, and defended itself by its powerful repugnance and unconquerable aversion to it. In the numerous faults of the Poles in common with other people, it is an astonishing fact,

that there is no avariciousness, no meanness, no cheatery, or bad faith amongst them; in one word, there is no greater vice versa in this world, as between the merchants and the Poles. This is the reason why commercial business and merchandise was always condemned in Poland, and neither Russian, Austrian, nor Prussian influence could ever prevail upon the Poles to go behind the counter. To annihilate and destroy such a country, it requires to demoralise it first, and hence all the attempts of her tyrants aim solely at that point. Nicolas founds the banks and guilds, builds railways, opens loan societies, for doing which Europe, ignorant of his designs, cheers him loudly as a benefactor, but which he does to denationalise the Poles. all in vain, for the guild-hall of Warsaw yawns openly, and as the yawning is infectious, the whole nation yawns at gold. This sufficiently explains why the Poles are repulsed and hated so much by all capitalists and commercial men. It seems that this class of men have a curious presentiment which whispers into their ears that Poland shall one day hurl forth dreadful thunderbolts that shall crush the golden statue of mammon, that god of merchants!

EDUCATION.

" Wise men are nearer to angels than fools are!"

Our intellect is either as a cedar of Lebanon, laughing at the heaven-headed mountains, or as a willow, weeping over some muddy brook. It is a gift of nature, and no science, art or study, can metamorphose a dull born into an intellectual man; for though education and circumstances may mould the mass, nature forms an individual, and throws into the clay of its spirit so much of beauty or deformity, that nothing can utterly subdue the original elements of character. From sweets one draws poison; from poison another extracts but sweets. Education is a touchstone—it brings out and shows the extent and power of intellect, and its ultimate aim is not to create intellectuality, but to polish man's natural richness and make him valuable. Intellect is the standard value of each individual; education the mean of bringing it out. Education is thus necessary for those who follow, and intellect for those who lead, society. But the intellect of a man can be directed either to good or bad purposes-it can either benefit or injure society; for we know that an intellectual man may be either moral or vicious. This depends upon which of the social channels into which men are thrown in their infancy. If in one which rolls quietly its crystal and transparent waters of morality and good faith-in whose screne and smooth surface, as in a mirror, the mind is constantly accustomed to watch and see all objects as they are clearly reflected—then the mind receives a pure, transparent, crystal impression, and returns afterwards its star-like lustre to illuminate and charm all around, and creates those intellectual men who adorn and benefit society! But if placed in another, whose muddy and virulent torrents of passion and selfishness, hiding in their dark waves the true colour

of objects, and thus toss and agitate the mind from one extremity of passion to another, then the raging intellect threatens with ruin and destruction, every object that it comes in contact with, and forms men, whose haughty, commanding, and irrational intellects become an injury, and often the poison, of society; therefore all men should be placed on that wide road of civilization, which, being paved by the geniuses of integrity, honesty, and virtue, leads to the holy fields of merited glory and untarnished fame, and not on the narrow, dark, and winding footpath of passion, selfishness, and hypocrisy, whose rocky passes are forced by fire and sword, moistened with blood and tears, and lighted with the magic lanterns of lawyers, leading to the trophies reared upon the skulls of mankind, and treasures amassed by the piracy and pillage of industry and the labour of others. National education may open the gates to the first road, and force mankind upon it, as private education now The intellect of a man is that divine drags all to the second. power placed within his disposal, which raises him above others, and makes him a powerful and important spring to help or check the progress of social machinery. Since we cannot presume to foretell what children are intellectual, until they are educated, and which of them shall rise to lead and conduct others in future, we should resolve that every child should receive an early education, and their intellect propelled on the best road for the benefit of society. Trees are bent whilst growing, animals tamed whilst young, and so men must be educated whilst they are young and growing. To educate men who have grown up in their prejudices, whose imbecility is settled, is a hard and vain task: but to trust such men with the education of others is still worse-but such is the general fault of mankind, and here lies the fallacy of men's attempts. Whoever wishes for the endless work of Danaiads, may undertake to convert an old Mahometan into a Catholic, or an English Protestant into a Turk. As religion is an implanted and grown belief in every man, so are his other opinions, the alteration of either generally ends with a total wreck. Yet a child is as wax, from which any figure, any fiction, any image, may be made. An English baby taken to Turkey or China would make a perfect Turk or Chinese, in the same manner as a baby of either of them would make a perfect Briton. If we, therefore, wish for a reasonable, honest, and clever race of men, we must produce reasonable, honest, and clever children!

Yet what is the education of society at present? How is it arranged—how distributed? Totally wrong. Every child is taught, by heart, a certain rote of a religious or political party; with such he prattles all his life. There is no question that many of the children of the higher and middle classes receive excellent instructions and perfect accomplishments, graceful manners and honourable ways, but how limited is their number? And how very few of them, in spite of wealth and opportunity, are well educated? How is this? That which we learn by heart, is instruction; the way we speak, write, and think, is knowledge; that which we know, and can communicate to others, is accomplishment; and our doings, performances and dealings, are our habits; and it is the combined knowledge of them all that constitutes education. Education, thus, is nothing more nor less than the perfect knowledge of the world. To know God, man must know his creation. Thus he must know astronomy, geology, botany, natural history, and the elements—he must have instruction. To know his fellow-men, he must know their nature -he must know philosophy, laws, historians, and poets - he thus must have knowledge. To know the purpose and the end of human existence, and to be a fit member of society—to mix with it—he must know its prerogatives, its establishments, its excellencies and its faults, its elegant manners, and the fine arts, for which he must have accomplishments. To be able to live in this world, with the perfect dignity of a man, and to be useful to friends and society, he must know the laws and regulations, and know something to maintain himself independently, and these are his habits. All this put together is an education, and thus it happens that some receive a greater, some a smaller, portion of it; but many, or rather too many, receive none at all. Hence many may be very much instructed, exceedingly accomplished, and extremely social, but to be well educated is the lot of very few.

The child of a rich man, receiving all his valuable instructions and accomplishments, receives also the prejudices of the family and their friends, such as religious and political opinions. Happy in their position, they care little for others—they consider their class as the highest and the best, and all others below them;—the land is theirs, the men and beasts that cultivate it are born for their use, and, of course, also theirs. Hence haughtiness of manners, pride of birth, ambition of accomplishments, and indifference to the welfare of others.

The children of the middle class receive less instructions and accomplishments, but more family prejudices. It is a class that constantly balances between the highest and the lowest, and receives the impressions of both. They see there is something above and something below. They must stoop to the latter to get rich, in order to rise to the former, and to look afterwards down. Hence inconsistency of manners, divisions and quarrels about birth, hypocrisy of principles, ambition for favours, love of religious and political parties, and great greediness.

A child of the lowest class, that receives no instruction, no accomplishments whatever, inherits all the prejudices and ignorance of the family. Their little religious, and still less political opinions, conjointly with vulgarity of manners, and meanness of ways, cannot but produce men that are only capable to awake the indignation of other classes. Uneducated, ignorant to fanaticism, rough and submissive, they lie prostrate under the heavy foot of ambition and riches; and although they are the basis and foundation of the gaudy edifice of society, bearing the holy steeples and princely towers, with their baronial turrets and royal banners, waving over the halls and rotundos of banqueting luxury; vet they, just like all other foundations, lie buried in darkness and in dirt, to bear strongly upon their mass, another mass of bricks,—of the same clay, true, but more conveniently placed, and better accommodated! Such a state of things, with such a predestinated position, must remain, and shall remain, as long as this world. We allow this-but the edifice only stands so long as its foundation is strong and healthy, and capable to bear the burden. The health, vigour and cleanliness of foundations, ought to be the first care and business of owners, for when they rot and decay, the edifice falls—like so many already fallen to rubbish; as for instance, the splendid edifices of Carthage, Babylon, Thebes, Jerusalem, Rome, &c. &c. &c. But, the tenants of such social edifices will dispute, pro and con, and the dissertation would be endless, if its governor did not interfere, and order sufficient amelioration and alteration, in spite of variety of opinions. That governor is the constitution, laws, and government. Those who suppose that society would be injured by the improvement of the condition and expansion of education of the working-classes, are extremely wrong. The best and readiest argument to convince them to the contrary, is

the case of Englishmen, who are decidedly ten times more enlightened and comforted than Polish peasants—the first beg in a body, and sing starvation to their money aristocracy—the second conspire in bands, and massacre theirs with knives. Which injures society most, the beggar or the murderer? Those who obstinately believe the contrary, are a class of men whose interest is to do so, for all the advantages they have, and impositions they practice now, are on account of the gross ignorance of the people. But it is not to such a class of men, society owes its present comfort and establishments, therefore their cry is a transient wind that passes away. It is now the wish of the predominant and intellectual part of mankind, who desire the reform of society. Did all men know their rights, which they cannot without a good education, they would soon obtain, and eternally preserve them, and the wide gates to cheatery and imposture would close themselves. It is the want of good education that creates the malicious dispositions of men, their vicious avidity for other's happiness, their artfully arranged impositions, their motives and plans of advantages, and their selfishness. is the want of the good education of the people, that created that world's scourge—the army of lawyers, which now beset and entangle society, and feed upon its best fruits. It is to them, who sprung from the people's ignorance, like owls which spring from darkness, that we owe the inventions and plans of the darkest hues. It is they who taught mankind how to cheat and rob lawfully. The good education of the people would be a deadly poison to the wicked, and it is only the wicked who dread it—and they are many.

Every man is born for his own country and society, and whether he is a prince, a merchant, or a labourer, he is a member of it; but as all men have to hold different ranks, they have different duties to fulfil, and the study and knowledge of such fulfilment of particular duties, is the essence of education. All men, therefore, must receive a good, and not a prejudicial education—education of principles, and not of parties—of rights, and not of abuses; then they would help and not injure each other. The labourer that spends his wages in dissipation, and the prince who screws, unjustly, profits from the poor for his luxuries, are both ill-educated men, for they go beyond the limits of wisdom.

What education does the son of a small merchant or a farmer

receive? He scarcely learns to read and write. He is made an apprentice to his father's business; he performs all sorts of drudgery, to increase the profits of his parent, who, having so many sons, employs so many labourers less. There the boy, about nine or ten years of age, burried in a shop or a factory, performs insignificant services; and learns, as the world says. business for ten or fifteen years longer, which trade and business, with a proper education, might be learned in a few months. But he makes money for his father, who does not care about his instruction, and less about his accomplishments, for such parents having generally passed their own lives without them, all they care for is help in business. It is true that the boy goes now and then to school for a year or two - but such private schools have no control—there is no public examination, no rewards for merits, and, with the exception of the teacher himself, who does not like to say that the boy is lazy, and not to lose a customer he even represents him as very clever; no one knows, not even the father, whether he is learning any thing or not. As soon as the school is over, all kinds of silly games and tricks are resorted to. Then business calls for the remainder of his time, and the packing and unpacking of parcels, and division of toys or boxes, are more charming and satisfactory than the mathematical solutions, or historical divisions—he likes the former decidedly better than the latter. Then such a boy does what he likes, and goes to all kinds of penny shows, fairs, and theatres, where he can learn any thing but good. Father, devoted to business, has no time to control his study or manners—the son learns them amongst his juvenile playmates. Thus he grows up in ignorance, indifferent to any trade, knows nothing about the world, very little of his own country judges freely of men, with his soul entirely devoted how to make 2s. out of 6d., to gratify his fanciful desires, and, as the thirst for the increase of money is inexhaustible, he strives to make it in any way, right or wrong.

The child of a working-man is in a still worse condition. Never attending the school or any other place for instruction, he inherits his father's grossest vulgarities, his uncouth manners, low expressions, and, unfortunately, often his bad temper. Badly dressed, still worse trained, he is sent from home when seven or eight years old, to some factory, to work for 6d. a-day, or to a brickmaker at 4d. a-day, where only his physical powers are

required, as soon as he can perform the duty of a little donkey, all is right. The house offers him no pleasure, in which he is often rebuked and pushed about. He has no society except the out-door players, and so he grows without religion or learning, left to his instinct, like the brutes. He grows up, and becomes a working-man. He may be a small shopkeeper,—a He marries next somebody similar to himself, and gives so many children to society, who go exactly through the world like himself. If steady and fortunate enough, he may have constant and good employment, may become a householder, and have the right of influencing, by his vote, the affairs of his country. What judgment, what behaviour, can the country expect? What education, what training, awaits his children? Let the circumstance speak for itself. It will account for the calamity, wretchedness, and misery of nations. It will explain the cause of misdealings, craft, and cheatery in society. It will account for the existence of gaols, and the great number of criminals.

It is therefore evident that two-thirds of the European population receive no education whatever. That such, being left to private bounty and support, become only a speculation of teachers, who, reaping all possible advantages from the higher class, leave the lower in the same position and state of ignorance as it was 4000 years ago! Education must be national, under the protection of government, and the superintendence of corporations, which will not look to the education of parties, but of all the inhabitants without exception. Hardly had such a benignant idea electrified one of the European nations, scarcely one government had woke from its slumber, startled by numerous gaols and murders, when a hurricane of yells and thundering uproar of opponents rose suddenly, and, like a deformed monster. put out its vicious tongue and barked its malicious insult to the government. If ever Dissenters proved that they actually made a regular trade of religion, then they did so now.

Religion teaches man the immortality of his soul, the sensibility and excellency of his heart, and commands him to be virtuous, moral, and good, to gain the salvation of his immortal soul, and everlasting life. Education teaches a man industry and the arts, and commands him, by such means, to support his present earthly existence, to maintain honourably and justly his

temporal life, and gain his daily bread. What, therefore, has religion to do with a man's belly!

What is religion? It is the manner in which we are anxious to show our adoration of God. It is a calm and deep feeling which overwhelms our heart, and penetrates it with singularly pleasant presentiment. It carries us away—no matter where away from earth. In our joy or our sorrow, we feel the want of confession, we need consolation, and we look around all nature, in search of a Being to whom we could disclose the weighty secrets of our swelling heart and mind. We want somebody to pray to—somebody to thank, and we eagerly seize any object to which we can attach perfection and power superior to our own. Hence men look up and cling to heaven. They adore sun, moon, stars—a being who can see them and hear their prayers. nations adore but one God, but in the infancy of their intellect, and childishness of their conception, they cannot conceive him, they cannot discover him, and they eagerly lean their anxious car and thirsty thought to any theory, that may disclose to them the secrets of Omnipotence. Thus their worship is in accordance with their notions, and they are not infidels, for they think that the sun, or the moon, or a star, or Brahma, or Jupiter, is a god. Such were the ancient religions of nations, and such are the modern. Let us glance now at the religion of the ancients.

Almost every people, particularly Asians, reckon a succession of ages which terrify us. When America was discovered, there were but two kingdoms in that part of the globe, and in neither of them was known the art of writing: the rest were small societies to whom arts were not known. The Samoides, the Laplanders, the people of Siberia and Kamschatka, are not even so advanced as the Americans were! The greatest part of the Negroes and all the Caffres are plunged in the same stupidity. What ages are not requisite for the formation of men into society! If the Chinese, who are styled infidels, can show their tablets of bamboo, reaching as far as 4000 years back, which tablets are the most ancient monuments in the world, cleverly preserved from rotting, by varnish, what time must not have elapsed before the formation of them into such a society? Here is the people who, for upwards of 4000 years, have daily written their annals, and written them wisely and well. They have no history before that of their emperors, no fictions, no prodigies, no inspired men, no

holy books; all the events are marked by the evolutions of stars. This is the best proof that to be expert in all arts necessary to society, even so far as to write so wisely, more time was necessary than treble the 4000 years to the formation of similar existence.

The people thus, formerly, had no idea of a sole God, omnipresent Creator, existing of himself from all eternity, for they could not have been acquainted with the connections of the various parts of the universe, which, to the learned and wise, proclaim an Eternal Architect. Yet adoration is in the nature of a man,—he adores what pleases him, or what terrifies him. Thus the Caffres have an insect for their protector, the Negroes a serpent. Among the Americans, some adore the moon, others, a tree! The Peruvians, when they became a little polished, adored the sun. Many have no worship whatever, and many nations have no other god than their master, their lord. Such was Adonis among the Phoenicians; Ball, Milem, and Adad, among the Syrians; Chamos among the Ammonites. The Jews for forty years in the desert, acknowledged no other than Molock, Rephaim, and Kicim, and they made no sacrifice to the lord Adonis, whom they afterwards adored. The same Jews who cried so against strange worship, called the idolater Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the anointed of the Lord. The most polished people of Asia, close to the Euphrates, adored the planets. The Chaldeans, before the time of Zoroaster, paid homage to the sun, as did afterwards the Peruvians, on the other side of the globe. As soon as the people became more civilised, more numerous, they indulged themselves in increasing the number of their gods. The Egyptians began by adoring Isheth or Iris, and they finished by adoring cats. The first Romans adored as god, Mars; and when they conquered Europe, they worshipped the goddess of marriage, and the god of thieves! When mankind became still more refined, they became more presumptuous, and opened communication with heaven. Men that had done great things, and were serviceable to the people, were related with heaven. Without enumerating the dreams of so many people who preceded the Greeks, Bacchus, Persius, Castor and Pollux, were sons of God. Romulus was a son of God. So was Alexander proclaimed in Egypt. One Odion in the northern nations was son of God. Mango Capac was son of the sun in Peru. Gingis Kan himself passed for the son of

God. And when Pope Innocent sent brother Austin to Batoukan, grandson to Gingis, this monk, who could not be presented but to one of the viziers, said he came from the vicar of God; to which the minister replied, Is this vicar ignorant that he should pay homage and tribute himself to the son of God, the great Batoukan, his master? It would, however, be difficult in the present age, and the attempt would finish in an asylum, if we tried to make a god of a man whom we saw born like ourselves, suffer like us maladies, chagrin, the miseries of humanity, subject to the same humiliating wants, die, and become food for worms. In further succession, the fanciful Eastern people invented another species of holiness. The historian of the Moguls, Abulgazi, relates that one of the grandmothers of Gingis Kan, named Alanka, when a girl, was impregnated by a celestial ray! Then we had more instances of it. people began to find fault with their gods, and changed them into animals, in Egypt. This fact would no doubt astonish a Pythagorian, a Brahmin, a Chaldean, or an Egyptian. Decreto was become a fish in Syria, Semiramis was changed into a dove in Babylon. The Jews say that Nebuchadnezzar was changed into a bull, and Lot's wife transformed into a pillar of salt. Wonderful times were those!

The Indians, whom we look upon as one of the first nations, made their Brahma a son of God, who taught the Brahmins the manner of adoring him. This name came gradually into veneration. The Arabians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, all used it. The Arabs, who traded with the Indians, had the first idea of him, whom they called Abrama, and they boasted to descend from him. The Chaldeans adopted him as a legislator. The Persians called their ancient religion, Millat-Ibrahim; the Medes, Kish-Ibrahim. They supposed that this Ibrahim or Abraham was born in Bactriana, and resided near the city of Balk. They revered him as a prophet of the religion of ancient Zoroaster, but the Jews objected to it, and say he belongs to them, and strive to make us believe so.

In such universal chaos of fanciful misconceptions, one nation stood alone upon the earth, free from maniacal delirium of brains,—the Chinese. Their Confucius neither pretended to be an inspired man, nor anointed, nor a prophet. He was a magistrate, who taught the ancient laws. He recommends nothing but virtue, preaches no mysteries, speaks no parables.

And the Chinese people are only, even to-day, the sole people who worship God with that morality and wisdom which becomes an intellectual man.

The most learned geologists cannot yet settle what space of time is requisite to the formation of certain stones and rocks; they suppose it requires hundreds of ages of experience to draw a solution. What do we know in what state is the middle of the earth we tread? What masses cause the eruptions of volcanoes? Whether this earth will be subjected to a great change in future? It seems incontestible that the ocean formerly extended itself over immense tracts of land, now covered with great cities and producing crops. The shells found in Touraine, Britanny, and Normandy, prove those lands were for a much longer time part of the ocean than they have been provinces of France and Gaul. The floating sands of the northern parts of Africa, and the banks of Syria, near Egypt, are nothing else but sands of the sea, remaining in heaps upon the gradual ebbing of the tide. Herodotus says that Delta in Egypt was not always land. The same was the case with the sandy countries towards the Baltie Sea. Does not the Grecian Archipelagoes prove that all flats that surround them, by the vegetations, which are easily perceptible under the water that covers them, that they once formed part of the continent? The straits of Sicily, that ancient gulph of Charibdes and Sylla, still dangerous for small barks, do they not seem to tell us that Sicily was formerly joined to Apulia as the ancients thought? Vesuvius and Etna have the same foundations under the sea, which now separates them. Vesuvius began to be dangerous when Etna ceased to be so. Did not the sea once overflow one half of Friesland, now the Netherlands. In the last century, the steeples of eighteen villages, near Mardyke, were seen to appear above the inundation. It is reasonable to think that the sea at times quits its ancient Aiguemonte in France, Frejus, the same province, near the Mediterranean, and Ravenna in Italy, were once sea ports, but are no more to-day. The crusaders landed in Damietta in Egypt, which is now actually ten miles distant from the shore. The sea is daily retiring from Rozetta, another mouth of the Nile; and nature testifies everywhere her revolutions. And if stars have been lost in the immensity of space, if the seventh pleiade has long since disappeared, if others have vanished from sight into the milky way, can we be surprised that this little

globe of ours undergoes perpetual changes. We see plainly, there was once a great outbreak of waters, and that it may happen again; for we have for evidence the slops of all lands which are washed by the ocean, those gulphs which the eruption of the sea have formed, and those archipelagoes that are scattered in the midst of waters; that the two hemispheres have lost upwards of 2000 miles of land on one side, which they have regained on the other.

Next, we cannot unravel the antiquity and beginning of different nations, who are only known to us from the times in which they began to flourish. The Chaldeans were the first nation that engraved their observations and laws upon bricks in hieroglyphics. These were speaking characters, which the Egyptians acquired only after several ages had elapsed. The art of transmitting ideas by alphabetical characters could not have been invented but very late in that part of Asia. Those Chaldeans reckon to us 470,000 years. It sounds immense to us, who were only born yesterday, but it is a very little time for the whole The progress of the mind is slow, the illusion of our eyes so powerful, the submission to received ideas so tyrannical, that it is not possible for a people who have existed only nineteen centuries, to have arrived at that degree of philosophy, which contradicts prejudices, and which requires most profound examination.

We know little of this earth upon which we tread, and what can we presume to know of the other world, which is beyond our The presumption of a man dragged the sun round the earth, and what a noise it was when Copernicus proclaimed a new system. A silly pope at that time excommunicated him. What would we know of stars and planets if it was not for him and his genial supporter Newton, or wonderful Hershell, who shows us that 100,000,000 of planets, like Lyra, each of them 54,000 times larger than the sun, are placed within the distance of 200,000,000,000 miles from each other? Who created such worlds? But one power, one architect. What do we know of those planets—what are their elements, their animals, their vegetation? Nothing! Daring and insolent man, lay down your sinful hands on your weak head, and sink down to the ground at the very idea of creation, and cease to blaspheme, by disputing the will and ordinances of the wise and great Creator, and abandon the vain and silly attempt to unravel the secrets of heaven.

Mankind have ceased to fight for religion, thank goodness and grace, but they quarrel yet about it. They fight for it morally, and one would think there is a great number of religious people; but if we would establish a law, that if a number of persons are so ignorant that they are incapable to conceive of God, and worship him in spirit, but must have somebody to tell them of heaven and introduce them to God: that they must pay such teachers as they pay the teachers of languages, and build their churches and support such themselves, we would perceive that very shortly there would be very few churches in Europe! What is the use of hypocrisy? Every body pretends to be religious, and every other body knows it is false. What is religion but the worship of God? Every man, therefore, ought to have a right to do it in the way which he approves of. What are many of the religious assemblies of Sundays, but a gathering of rich people to show their dresses. Does the poor people go to the church? No! They wander about the town or its vicinity, or visit the gin palaces. Why do the rich go to church? To sleep to music; and why do the poor not go there? Because they cannot understand a word of what is said. During the time of holy service in all Europe, without exception, there is more sin committed, and more iniquity practised, than all the week round. And why is it, then, that the wealthy parties support religion? Because, having taken all from the poor that is good and nice. and feeding themselves well upon the productions of earth, and having all her materials for luxury, they give hope and providence to the poor as most desirable for them; and having appropriated to themselves all material blessings, they feed the people upon the spiritual ones, leaving God to reward their earthly labour in heaven, and promising them after this short and troubled life everlasting luxury in the next.

Religion was instituted to facilitate and encourage adoration, so as to gratify men's moral feelings and increase their joy; but, now it is converted into a tool for oppression and tyranny. The intellect of a man is the gift of heaven, to impose upon which no man has a right. To imbibe the young intellect with false doctrines and pervertive tales, is the most monstrous tyranny, for it makes of it an earthly tool of ignorance and falsehood. It is a moral crime, for it wrests from it its natural growth and development, and forces upon it fancies and caricatures, which change the moral giant into a vicious dwarf. The practisers

and encouragers of false doctrines are criminals, worthy to be excluded from the sympathy and laws of society.

Since all nations worship one God, different religions are only different ways of adoration; and the wiser people are, the wiser will be their religion. As, therefore, all mankind acknowledge but one God—the Creator of the universe—the religious education of children of all nations, which is their spiritual food, ought to be one, as one and the same bread, from pole to pole, is given to them for their material food!

But men will always differ, because they are a composition of different prejudices—because they are uneducated, and thus intolerant, spiteful, and obstinate.

As it is of no use to swim against the tide of ignorance, every nation should have a board of clergymen of its established national religion—which board should publish the sermons for every Sunday of the week, and such ought to be read to all congregations in the respective towns. The wants of the nation are the same—the feelings of its people should be the same; their love mutual, and their obedience to God's laws the same; they have the same duty towards the nation to perform. and the same morality to maintain. It would prevent the mischievous preaching of many who are not fit for it; because they only translate and dress up differently, at one time Luther, at another Calvin, then Melancthon, then they deliver what was already said 20 or 30 years ago by somebody else; and they tease and puzzle their poor and patient congregations. Every town should appoint a bishop to such a board of clergy, their office being for life, before the filling of which, however, they ought to pass the public examination, and not be ideal idiots, but men of learning, talent, and wisdom; for wise men are nearer to angels than fools are. The subject of a sermon should be the duty of parents to children, of governments to people, and people to governments. Men of strict moral life should be pointed to as examples for imitation, wrong dealings denounced. The treatises should be on morality, charity, love, friendship, justice, prudence, &c. &c., which offer a vast field of unexhausted charms, to inspire moral thoughts, and incite holy emotions. Such eloquence would no doubt develop and strengthen the hidden powers of the human mind and heart. Independent as such bishops should be by their station, chosen by towns, paid by the nation, sure of their office, as long as they will be honourable

they would be able to speak an "unvarnished tale" to the king, as well as to the minister, merchant or labourer. The sermons should not be long, but powerful, eloquent, and true—such sermons ought to be printed and given to the people whilst leaving the place of worship, that they may think of them again. But, now, who could print all the sermons, delivered on even a single Sunday? Who would find the patience and the time to read them? Well performed instrumental sacred music elevates the feelings of the congregation. Its slow and serene melancholy tones, fall upon the heart like a stream of bliss, refreshing the ardour of devotion. So charmingly touched, the heart swells with a divine flame, its thrilling electricity spreads itself and overpowers the mind; the enchanted ideas waft the thought towards heaven, and make it wander in the regions of holiness and the splendours of fancy. Such mighty inspirations, such a divine sensation, heightens greatly and commands the holiness of the house of worship; but, now, Christians make a curious uproar in such houses, to the great annoyance, and often to the laughter of many—for the want of knowledge of singing makes it similar to the bleating of sheep that have been lost. The squalling of those Jewish psalms by young girls, the groaning of old men, as if suffering from indigestion, especially with poor organs that cannot deafen them, is really provoking. Of all dissenters, the Friends are the most reasonable people: they do not talk of God and of heaven, but worship in serene calmness, and consider a solemn and dignified tranquillity as most becoming.

If every man is not only obliged, but positively forced and bound to submit to the established civil laws of the country he lives in, why should he not submit to the established religion as well? They call the established religion tyranny, but forget that they are both tyrants and rebels themselves. They rebel against the established religion, which is the choice of the majority of the nation, and break the order; whilst, on the other hand, if they could, they would impose their prejudices upon all other seets, and force them to think as they do. Every man should submit to it, for the sake of good example and good sense, for his influence to preserve harmony is most unquestionably due to both. Are mankind so void of logic and reason, that they must have some one to tell them of things of which they know nothing themselves? and thus split into different

visionary dreams and frantic ideas, talk parabolically of their gazing stocks to make others stand gaping in the air. They who advocate the splitting of established religion into sects, are either hypocrites or fools-they either make a business or fun of it. If all parties were allowed to translate heaven, in accordance to their views, and perform worship in accordance to their fancy -instead of hundreds, there would be thousands of sects, worse than Socinians and Pusevites-then there will be an end of the established religion, and ultimately of religion itself. dissensions spring from the abused liberty of expressing men's own opinions; but the narrow minds of temporary transient mortals are not capable to conceive of eternity, of God, and of heaven, the cento-bimillinous part of which they shall never know. the public preachings lead to battles and blood, and as the people have no control over their clergy, who are clients to archbishops and bishops, and these humble servants to any government, the religion which should open the gates of heaven to men, opens the gates of hell to them, and is used as a tool of hatred, tyran-Such public ad libitum preachings should ny, and imposition. be prohibited—they are a disgrace to a civilized age. Men have fought enough for religious forms—they have talked of them till their tongues have got dry, and they know no more about heaven than Cain and Abel did. It is high time men should come to their senses, and they should know that to worship God is not to prattle about him. Let every man worship God without the pantomimical and theatrical exposition of it. How these artful performers dare look into the eyes of their congregations, is most astonishing.

The religious education of young children should be limited to the explanation, that there is one Almighty God, the creator of all things, omnipotent, eternal, inconceivable, with his boundless world—the Lord of all creation—that he gave mankind ten holy commandments, the fulfilment of which will be rewarded, and the neglect of them punished in future, and in the way as it shall be explained to them, when they will arrive at a proper age; that he has given wisdom to some men, who have formed wise laws, which now rule and regulate society—that those laws are consecrated by nations, and they must be obeyed,

or the disobedient shall be punished in this life!

All the thoughts of such children—their speeches, dealings, and actions—should be strictly watched and regulated, in accord-

ance with the ten commandments—a general prayer in the morning and evening, before and after dinner, with parents jointly, to the Almighty God, one over all mankind, should be regularly performed. The same exactly when sent to school, and until 16 or 18 years of age, he should know no more. This is sufficient to make him moral, honest and good. After finishing his social education (as explained hereafter), he ought to devote a year to learning the sacred mysteries of his country's religion, and the different religions, and their different ceremonies, with which the rest of mankind have worshipped, and do worship, the Great God. Such a study he ought to pursue in the metropolitan university, afar from the whole world, debarred from his friends and the pleasures of society, and lead a pious devotional life, as preparatory to enter the house of God. He then ought to have a right to choose for himself any of the respective persuasions—that of his country or his parents. He then should be introduced to the house of God, with all the pomp and ceremony due to a sacred place, either by the clergyman or his parents. He ought there, and not till then, bind himself, and faithfully promise upon an oath, which should be the first in his life, to lead an hononrable, virtuous, and industrious life; to obey the commandments of God and the laws of his country, and then be permitted to partake, for the first time, of the holy sacrament, as purification of his previous sins, and become a member of the house of God. No children are forced to follow their parents' political opinions, neither their trade nor avocation: they have their own choice, and the same right they should have in the choice of a religious persuasion, or otherwise religion is a tyranny, and a violent imposition upon faith. Such a system would not only be a true and perfect liberty of conscience, becoming moral men, but it would put an end at once to all the quarrels and disputes about the religious education of people.

The ridiculous custom of bringing children and babies to church, annihilates the greatness of the place. They dare not bring such to concerts and balls, for they fear more the laws of men than those of God; we always expect God will forgive us, but we know that men never shall. Every infant should know that it was taken once to the house of God to be christened, or baptised, or named, but that it cannot re-enter it again, until it is educated, good, honest, and moral. If a youth does not understand the motive of the ceremonies, it neutralizes that holy feel-

ing within him, which, if it does not influence and penetrate entirely the heart of a man, annihilates that holiness of inspiration, which is the sublimest beauty, comfort, and bliss of religion. Religion, then, loses its divine charms, becomes merely a word its performances merely matters of ceremony, and monotonous prayers tedious, and the most powerful tools, that are to mould a man into a moral, honest, and virtuous being, are tamed and worn out in his infancy, and thus are useless to form his man-Religion is, undoubtedly, a very powerful mean to influence successfully the growing heart of man, and the utmost precaution should be carefully employed not to betray its secrecy, nor annihilate its charms too soon, which, alas! is generally done by the too early exposition of its holy mysteries to weak minds, who, incapable to unravel its motives, allow themselves to discuss and examine the facts they can never solve, and unconsciously weaken their faith, by a foolish attempt to tear the veil of mystery which God was graciously pleased to throw around the eternal heaven. Children cannot learn algebra before they know arithmetic, nor poetry before they can read, nor business without being apprentices, so they cannot understand the holy mysteries of heaven before they know the nature of creation, the nature of mankind, and the nature and sentiments of their own hearts. A young man, before he finishes his education, has no business whatever to go to the place of worship, but he ought to make his daily prayers to God, under the superintendence of parents or tutors; and to pray heaven to bestow upon him such cleverness and goodness, as will make him worthy to become a member of the house of God. The revealing of sacred mysteries should be held out to him, as a reward for his good behaviour and honest deeds; and he shall not know them, except his conduct, in his infancy, is in accordance with God's ten command-The children, then, will grow moral, with perfect reverence for religion.

Now, we must consider that such piety, and such moral instructions, cannot be given by all parents, who, unfortunately, amongst the working-classes, know very little, if anything at all. Some parents have not talent enough to impart such to their children, as there is a vast difference between the capacity of learning ourselves and teaching others. There are, besides, parents who have no sufficient time or patience to perform such a task. Besides secular instructions as regards manners, there

are civil and social ones, which children should learn at the same time. In that respect, we know but too well how few are the parents who could do it—that there are fewer still who would do Mankind do not avoid, nor shrink from, education-they seem to be eager and anxious for it, but the extent of poverty is so great, that unless a man belongs to the middle ranks of society, he has no means, no power, to educate his children. This accounts for people, who, having no education, resort to their natural instincts, and follow their animal impulses. Hence beggary, imposture, cheatery, murders. This fact may be especially visible in Great Britain. The resplendent and brilliant sun of knowledge shines brightly over her, and its fiery rays develope the flowers of learning, charity, and elegance, to its most magnificent tints in the world, but it cannot develope nor penetrate the thick skulls of its common class, who without exception of the different soils that create them, are the most vulgar and most brutalised race. They float constantly between two base extremities-ignorance and insolence on one side, cowardice and servility on the other. To redress such an unfortunate condition of mankind, is to give education to the poor Gratis-gratis meanwhile, yet, properly speaking, at their own expense, as explained hereafter.

It is an undeniable fact that no working-man can ever give an education to his children, and very few amongst the middle class, a good one, and that such poor children remain perfect outcasts of civilization. Yet the worst of all is, that many of them quite early learn at their homes every thing that is derogatory and poisonous to society. If a man, therefore, is not able to give proper education to his children, he has no business to corrupt and brutalise them; he has no right to turn them into tools to increase his resources, which he often misspends, and to send them so early as seven or eight years of age, to hard labour, or systematic beggary.

Education requires many years' cultivation to produce its favourable fruits; and it is a very long road through which a youthful mind must travel. We learn first to speak, and we embark on the great road of life, which has its 330 royal hotels, in which they speak 330 different languages, to learn which it would require 100 years' study. Here we are sorry there is no universal language, which inconvenience may be only dispensed with under national education, by adopting one in all countries

for the purpose. Then we want food, and this leads us to the grand museum of animals, and to volumes of natural history. From thence we proceed to a great botanic garden, containing an immense quantity of trees and plants, that would require many years' learning to examine them all. Next we buy the things, and count them: this leads us upon the long road of mathematics, beginning with the cottage of Pythagoras, two and two make four, and extending to the castle of Newton's binoms, and pyramidal numbers, without which knowledge we could form no idea of the creation and of the universe. How few know its charms! Then we follow the road of religion, and see how men in three hundred different ways worship God, and how they continually quarrel about self-perfection. Then we go on the commercial road, and see the exhibition of articles and productions of human labour which, by their variety and exquisiteness of beauty, drive us to an astonishment, in which our thought is lost. Then the roads of fine arts and music, of immense length, lie before us, until, tired, we are obliged to stop and rest, with a little bouquet of information in our hands, gathered in our travels, which is to represent our noble selves, and speak to others of the quantity and quality of our collection.

To go through such travels of the mind, a child requires a great deal of time, which he must use with ease and propriety, to impress upon him strong recollections, and enable his memory to retain all that may be useful and necessary for his future existence and welfare. A child, therefore, has no right to spend its infancy (which is best suited for good impressions and permanent advantages), at his house, lazy and inactive, improvident and ignorant, but onward it should go, to its instructive mental

pilgrimage.

The children of poor parents, as soon as they are five or six years old, should be placed in the *Town* Infant *Boarding Establishment*, by virtue of the laws of towns. The building to be constructed of several separate large pavilions, surrounded with a large garden and wall, and separated entirely from the town buildings. In one part of the town for girls, in another for boys,—all of them large enough to contain 1000 pupils, so that a town of 50,000 inhabitants, may offer, in fifteen such schools, a place for 15,000 children. Girls to be under the superintendence of females,—boys under men, with a sufficient number of servants. The duty of governors chosen by town corporations

shall be to board them properly, dress them neatly, watch their cleanliness and daily playings, bathe them, and attend common daily prayers. A clergyman to visit them twice every Sunday, to read to them prayers, and at the appointed days to instruct them in morality and manners; reading, writing, or sewing, by teachers appointed through corporations. Besides the school exercises, as drilling, swimming, &c., the children should go, on fine days, into the adjacent villages, all orderly, in military style. They should not be permitted to go home but once a year, for a month, lest they learn the things that are not good, but the parents should be at liberty to visit them once a-week, on Sunday afternoon, and leave small intended presents with the governors. The child to remain in such establishment till seven or eight years of age. The building to be erected and furnished by the town—the board and dressing of such children provided by the corporation, as a loan, amounting to L.10 for each scholar yearly, so that the school, composed of 1000 of them, will have L.10,000 for their yearly maintenance, which sum, considering the simplicity of their wants, is more than sufficient. When the child arrives at his seventh year, he will be removed to another school. the Town Children's Boarding Establishment, where, under different governors, he shall pass three classes. In the 1st, reading, writing, arithmetic, drilling, drawing, dancing. In 2d, the same, with music and trades, as sewing, embroidery, binding, carpentry, turnery, &c. &c. &c. In 3d, the same, with the addition of swimming, military drilling, as in the army, geography, history, natural history, &c. &c. The girls to go through the same course, and to be taught the same subjects, yet instead of drilling, swimming, and trades, sewing, needle-work, and dancing, ought to be substituted. The daily prayer in the classes, with teachers. In this school, as in the previous, education, board, and dressing to be L.10 a-year for each scholar, advanced by the corporation from the town bank. Such a third class should have a public examination at the end of the year, where all parents, relatives, and friends, should be present. It should finish with the distribution of prizes to those whose three years' good learning and conduct have made superior. The prizes to be in gold and silver medals, similar in all towns, with the name of the school, to be worn in the military style, on the breast of the dress, as long as the youth is a scholar. Such marks of distinction would do wonders among the young aspirants. The

girls to be presented with ear-rings, bracelets, or chains with medals.

Now the child, in the 10th year of its age, is already tolerably polished and ready to receive a substantial education. In order that they may know the world better, its manners and customs, they should not be tied to one small town or village, which causes a paltry pride, childish jealousy, and ignorance of society, and makes them think they are great stars in the place. A mutual exchange of scholars should be contracted between different towns by corporations.

In finishing the children's school, they should be removed to the Town Juvenile Boarding Establishment, to pass there five classes more. In these classes, higher mathematics, national and general history, geography, astronomy, French and German, Italian and Latin languages, drawing and painting, music-especially singing-military evolutions with small fire guns, shooting at target, fencing, gymnastics, dancing and swimming, as well as commercial book-keeping, accounts, &c., &c.; and various trades, as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, watch and instrument making, should be taught to their farthest extent. So divided between five progressive classes, the children would, in the fifteenth year of their age, know two or three trades, would be good mathematicians, linguists, and especially well drilled in all military achievements, that, in case of war, they may be ready for any regiment-infantry or horse artillery. The girls to study millinery, dress-making, and practise for themselves cooking, which they should learn, by attending daily in the kitchen, as well as marketing and prices of provisions, passing a strict examination every month. Drilling, dancing, and music, as well as painting and national literature, to be their chief occupation.

Each class to have every year a public examination, in the presence of the assembled public, the prizes to be given publicly, and then published. Such five classes, with exactly the same course of learning, should be established in all towns perfectly similar, so that a boy or girl. finishing his first class in Edinburgh, should be exactly fitted for the second in Dublin, and from thence for the third in Brighton, from thence for the fourth somewhere else-for instance Liverpool-from thence for the fifth The travelling of such scholars, under the responsibility and superintendence of governors, should be by railway,

FREE from all expense to their new town, to be performed in the summer months, so as to give a month's holidays in travelling. Such a journey should be slow, from town to town, and the scholars to be lodged and boarded in the town establishment, the pupils of which would be, for the time being, accommodated in another town. Thus an opportunity of a small journey will be afforded to them—they would see the curiosities and establishments of other towns and countries. This would expand their moral powers and influence their feelings—it would make the holidays days of enchantment and bliss, and encourage and refresh their minds for new study. After having entered their new school, the mayor of the town should receive them with a soirce and tea-party in the Assembly Room, that they may see the manners and ways of their new companions; and the town should be glad to welcome the newly arrived intelligent set of strangers, coming to learn amongst them what is good. They should, besides, attend in such towns, concerts, lectures, and all that beautifies and instructs the mind and the feelings. would have taste to resort to such places, and they would manifest better manners and dispositions than the present uncouth generation. So far perfected, many well instructed, adorned with prizes and enriched with knowledge, they will hasten home, after five years' study and travelling, to greet their dear parents, friends, and relations, in a far more improved state than that in which they left them.

All this time, the corporation of the town where the children were born and began their study, will be paying every year for their education and board, the sum of L.10, so that, in their fifteenth year, each child will owe such corporation, for ten years' schooling and boarding, the sum of L.100 each, which, with the per centage of L.10 each successive year, will amount to L.122. They shall now enter upon their situations, which, although they may not bring them much, will enable each to pay L.5 yearly back to the corporation, to remit such to the town treasury; which payment, divided for 25 years, will repay, by instalments, the sum of L.125, and the interest of such decreasing debt will be L.25, or five years more; thus 30 years of payment, at L.5 a year, will pay the whole debt and interest of the loan, and 15,000 of such children, out of 50,000 inhabitants, will return the loan, and throw into the treasury of the town, after 30 years' expiration, no less a sum than L.705,000; therefore 500 towns,

embracing a population of 25,000,000, would throw into the coffers of government or corporations, in 30 years, the enormous profit of L.352,500,000. What treasures would not be amassed for the education of mankind! What bliss would not be gained! What refinement would not be spread, and harmony produced, if men would only see! Private parties will never agree to lend their money at 1 per cent. They will never consent to wait 30 years for it; but the government of the country will not be in a hurry for cash, yet it will be amply rewarded in the end. Such calculation and plan is entirely intended for the poor children who must be educated, yet have no means, whilst the other boarding establishments, upon the same principle and expense, shall be constructed for the children of gentry and tradesmen, with this sole difference, that the parents will be obliged, at the end of each year, to pay the sum of L.10 for each of their children, and thus dispense with advances and They would even loans of the government or corporations. help the educational system, whilst they would have the advantage of a journey and cheapness of education. If a pupil died before his dues were paid, his nearest friends would be responsible; or his brothers in the schools must liquidate the debt.

So instructed, young men at 15 years of age will be ready to begin the higher studies, if their station and rank in life would require it; and such of them will now be sent to different universities to learn law, medicine, mathematics, theology, and fine arts. The universities, arranged exactly upon the same principle, but perhaps L.5 per annum more. The children, however, of poor parents will now be sent to the metropolitan boarding establishment for young ladies and gentlemen, where they would stay one or two years longer. There they will have permission to choose the trade or profession they intend to pursue in future, and they shall then perfect themselves thoroughly in the chosen branch, after which they will be preparing the last year to enter the house of God. Such pupils of both sexes who prove themselves eminent in their learning, and having manifested their talents and progress, shall be transferred from such establishment to the university of teachers and governesses, when, after another three years, they shall be perfectly competent to become teachers, and provided with places in their native town, or elsewhere. The government shall advance their expenses—thus they shall have two debts to pay, which will be nothing to them,

as their future salaries, as teachers, shall be very handsome. No other teachers should be allowed to embark in public instruction (in private they may) that will not pass such a national university, and obtain the diploma of competency. rich parties similar universities, arranged in exactly the same manner, with eash payments at the end of the year—for men dread often to sit under one roof, or touch each other's garments, although they shall all lie breathless in the same grand cemetery, to be eaten by the same worms, and to have their bones thrown by the dirty hand of the grave-digger close together in the same charnel-house. The kings of Egypt were more particular in that respect than any other mortals—they built tombs of marble, and pyramids, and balsamed themselves into mummies; for their clergy told them, that the world would end in a thousand years from their days. They must have been greatly surprised a few years ago, when, on feeling their graves moved, and no doubt supposing it would be caused by the arrival of angels, to escort them to heaven, to find out that they had been disturbed by the rude hands of French working men, who were picking them up, to be gazed at in European museums of animals and curiosities.

Such establishments, under the proper management of clever professors, will assure the whole country at once of intellectual and able teachers, who, under private undertakings, could never have achieved perfection nor good method. For the pupils of universities of three years' duration, as well as for those of teachers, arrangements will be made by governments with different countries, that the pupil should study one year in London, a second in Paris, a third in Vienna, a fourth in St Petersburg or Berlin, and a fifth in Rome or Madrid. Such travelling by railways to different countries, where they may be instructed in their native language, would not only facilitate the learning of several languages—show the world and its wonders to young academicians—disclose to them the whole machinery of society—the manners and customs of different nations—but they would impart those mighty and noble feelings, manners, and courtesy, which would crush many ruinous prejudices, that now tear so violently society. Such a plan could be easily arranged between governments, which private parties could never do.

For instance, if England sends her 5000 gentlemen to five different countries, she would, in return, board and educate 5000 different foreigners. Such academicians, by showing their diplo-

mas, properly authenticated, should be authorised to travel, free by railway, from one end of the globe to the other.

Such a study and such a life, will bring mankind together, and bind them fast in mutual love and brotherhood. The enslaving chains of prejudices will be broken by the might of the youthful mind, and men will be moral, honest, and clever. years of university life would be worth a lifetime. How ennobled, how clever, would be our youths! What social, manly beings, would not those young girls and men present to the country, after their three or four years' travelling abroad; the whole of which time was spent in learning arts, manners, etiquette, and friendship! Such an education, with such strict confinement during its pursuance, can only produce men capable to perform dutifully their future employments and stations in society. Such confinement will no doubt be considered as an infringement of liberty, yet what is liberty to children, but an empty word? If they are free to do as they like in their infancy, they will be the slaves and victims of parties, and miserable in their manhood. Yet how many different boarding schools are at present subjected to similar confinement, and they do not complain? How many young midshipmen and students now quit their parents for years? We shall exist another eighteen centuries, and the misery will be the same, if education will not be abundantly administered to all classes of nations freely. Let us establish proper and numerous schools, and juries, prisons, and gaols, as well as poor-houses, will disappear. The want of proper and general education causes, in every country, its common people to be lazy, drunken, filthy, and poor. It causes commerce to have its impostors, debtors, and swindlers. It causes merchants to be avaricious, mean, indifferent to all improvements, ready and willing for all kinds of duplicity. It causes the higher and richer classes to be spendthrifts, gamblers, proud, conceited, selfish beings; and except we start at once with energetic means to educate the present rising generation, all the future reforms, laws, improvements, establishments, will lead us to no other purpose than to the monopoly of the cunning over the simple.

Every one must be trained to his avocation. A man that has learned the sewing of boots, will never make a dress-coat, nor the blacksmith a watch, nor a foreign upstart or dress-maker a good teacher or governess, which, in many countries, is the very case to-day. Hence it follows, that children study and learn,

year after year, and neither themselves, nor anybody else, can tell whether they really know anything or not. The expenses paid for learning are monstrous, and the pupils frightful. children are sent to Master or Misses So-and-so, because Miss Duff and Miss Puff, or Master Dash and Splash are placed there. Why should not the young sons and daughters of respectable people be trained and accomplished for such purposes? It would be an honourable situation, a virtuous employment, with a handsome reward, and more becoming a woman than to be a bar-maid or stuff-seller. But what reward has a clever governess now? A mere trifle, and plenty of fuss, from ignorant masters, who are often as ignorant as sheep. This accounts for many young people's deficiency after years of study. They are educated artfully—they know only a little of one or two branches. They read books on idle and ridiculous subjects, and when the girls become mothers, they not only do not understand the superintendence of the kitchen and the washing, but they are incapable to impart any—even the most trifling—instruction to their own children. In such national establishments they will learn all the branches most needful and necessary for domestic comfort. The girls, besides, will learn there one virtue more, to which they must be strictly accustomed and trained through many years, which is-"to hold their tongues"-an awful and most deadly weapon with which they annoy, unmercifully, society.

The proper management of schools, and proper regulation and succession of studies to follow, would require a voluminous treatise to answer the purpose. We must limit ourselves in agreeing that education, as carried on now, without control, examination and prizes, is deficient, and totally wrong, and will never yield the expected fruits, until some enormous plan shall be undertaken by the whole nation in mass, through the interference of govern-The essential part of education is, to know one's proper and timely place and behaviour, of which many have no comprehension. We meet at church and concert and sit together, so we should in the school, without pretence to friendship or acquaintance. The greatest blessing in the world is to meet and associate with equals, the acquaintance of the rich requires certain delicacies and refinement, to which one must be used, and perfectly at home; and, besides, the reciprocity of a reception is very expensive, and not in the power of the poorer classes. The acquaintance of the poor offers no comfort, no examples to imitate,

and is annoying to the superior. The solicitation of trifling favours is most annoying and perplexing to the claimant, as well as to the party granting or refusing. All such favours are ticklish, because success is uncertain, and they ought to be sought at the public fountains, and not directed to private resources. This is what society needs very much, it poisons its most delicious harmony; every well educated man ought to be quite inde-Creditable banks of corporations, as proposed, would annul the difficulty, and the people, having to deal with the public treasury, would be far more honourable than with private purses. Besides, they shall be obliged to be so. Such principles the pupils would learn in travelling from one school to another, because the time to contract friendships will be too short and too transient. The children of the highest noblemen should mix with those of the merchants, as long only as they stand by the same stream of knowledge, to taste its waters, and then they should launch into the ocean of the world, each in his respective boat.

If every man were to pay for his own civilization, and not, like cattle, be drilled by others, he would strive then not to spend his money in vain, because he will be obliged to pay for his stupidity. On this subject parties will speak pro and con, because all men can speak, whilst only few are capable to think. Yet here it is evident, that to reform and correct the machinery of society, we must take it to pieces and examine the whole like a watch, and repair all its fault, which may be numerous, if we wish to give it a precise and undeviating motion. If such proposal and plan is deficient, mankind will be glad at any time to see a better one published, and are no doubt eagerly waiting for it.

Such a system in Poland, in whose cause this pen is chiefly devoted, where all the universities are abolished, all schools annihilated and forbidden, where private tuition is very expensive, and now quite impossible under tyranny, where the spirit of commerce does not split society into such numerous factions or ill feeling as in other commercial countries, where religion does not tear the men with flashy and abusive fires, will no doubt be adopted by the nation, and will produce the aristocracy of mind that will be quite capable to stand as an example and pattern for others. Polish universities have already produced religious and warlike geniuses, who shone over the European horizon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and will, perhaps, once more force her stars upon the firmament of civilization.

MARRIAGES.

The reason why so few marriages are happy is, because young ladies spend their time in making nets instead of making cages.

Matrimony is like rum-punch. Man is the rum, sharp and violent: woman, the sugar, sweet and dissolving; love, the boiling water, which grows in time quite cold. The wedding-day is therefore a most important epoch in human life for both parties. With closed eyes they choose a brewed bumper, filled with happiness or misery, and must drink it to the bottom. Man, standing at the altar, gives up a great deal of his liberty and privileges, and the woman gains them; and such restriction of the rights of the former expands that of the latter. The destiny of all mankind is to be wedded-happy are those who wed in proper season and We are all born with an idolatrous disposition, we must have always something to adore, hence adoration in love; but as everybody's character and disposition changes most visibly every seven years, beginning at 14 years of age, this explains the different results and consequences of marriages; for there are times when we can persuade people to certain actions, whilst we can do nothing with them at others. Adoration is most violent and most powerful from 21 to 28 years. In that epoch everybody undergoes the violent fever of platonic love, forms to themselves a beau-ideal of fancied perfection, a fascinating star of heavenly hue, a perfect angel, which, alas, often has the wings of Icar. It is the epoch of unbridled fancy and passion, and good common sense is as yet in the cradle. Hence hasty marriages. With so formed fanciful beauty, one lives in his waking dreams, and looks around upon the world eagerly for a corresponding object in reality; and hence the least resemblance in society of a

person similar to the one we conceive of in our dream, captures at once the mind, and is the origin of love. Such approximation of the real object to the vision, is often of the most light and trifling nature. Certain eyes, teeth, hands, tint of the skin, a figure, a carriage, a voice, or music, may captivate the pursuer at once. If such certain perfections find mutual reciprocity in both, love may create very great happiness; for such apparently trifling perfections that we love in others, are generally the most powerful arms to disarm our opposition, or subdue our obstinacy with the partner; yet, if such admiration is only on one side, love seldom ripens, and if artfully forced, future harmony is doubtful, and always rare. In that epoch, we only see the two sides of the world—our present condition, and the reigning and prevailing prejudices; but our more important future, and the real wisdom, rights, and truth of society, are covered before us with a dark cloud of mystery and secrecy, which the weak sight, and the inexperience of those of two youthful age, cannot pierce. Hope smiles on us with its most charming and lovely inducements; and happiness, we believe, to depend entirely in getting what we urgently want, without considering whether the feeling will last for ever. Thus governed by a deceitful imagination. vielding willingly to her loving charms, and neglecting the idea of the future, erroneously supposing the attainment of the desired object entirely and solely to be happiness—with madness and devotion we love and marry, in order to be happy. constitutes the real and true happiness of marriage? exquisite beauty and charming appearance, for which many die? Is it riches and high rank, which others madly wish to acquire with the partner? No! The real basis, and only foundation, of happiness in matrimony, is the good temper and good sense of both. Hence, often the beautiful and rich are hated, and the ugly and poor are beloved. Love, generally, is a madness—a folly. It is often the unrestricted and violent passion of one being for another. What is love then, if not the motive purely of self-gratification, and cruelty of the enamoured, who would madly move elements and worlds to satisfy his own panging-inattentive and quite indifferent whether he could, in return, influence so powerfully and reciprocally the tenderness and sentiments of a being he strives to imprison in the scorching clasp of his selfishness? If somebody plays or sings, or paints and writes, and nobody wishes to hear or look at it-if somebody

preaches, and nobody wishes to hear him; he gives it up, saying, It is not worth while. But if somebody loves, and knows he is not loved, he will love still, and strive unreasonably, and struggle against impossibilities, to plant a rose in the sea sand to force her growth, or fix a lily in vinegar to make her bloom, whilst, in accordance with the law of nature, they must fade and die prematurely. Is this the happiness of one, to see the other

dying?

The germ of love, therefore, although planted, will not grow, neither bloom yearly, in her season, if it is not mutual. the wise law of nature, and such is the very first law of marriage. The second law is, that they must be both genteel; for the nicest and richest seed thrown upon a barren land or mind causes only the labour and expense to be lost. In the strict performance of these two laws, which meanwhile are most difficult to go together, is comprised the whole secrecy of matrimonial happiness. In the first place, as Sir Walter Scott says, "That a beautiful face is the best letter of introduction," we perceive that beauty cannot be bought nor formed, and that to gain perfection in other accomplishments, in order to replace it, such as music, singing, wit, good temper, is also not an easy task. In the second place, gentility is so very rare a quality, that although the world abounds in soi-disant gentlemen and gentlewomen, their real number is so dreadfully small that they perish in the gulf of vulgarism of so-To be a gentleman or gentlewoman one must be genteel with his superiors, equals, and inferiors; he must genteely command and genteely submit; he must genteely think and speak; he must genteely give and receive; he must genteely lose and gain; he must genteely move and rest; he must genteely dress and adorn; he must genteely scold and amuse; he must genteely eat and drink; he must genteely sleep and wake; he must genteely joy and grieve; he must genteely love and hate. ever omits one of these gentilities forfeits the entire claim to the name of a gentleman or gentlewoman; and thus gentility becomes no easy task, and requires a very good education, and assiduous drilling in infancy. Such an uninterrupted gentility is the second law of matrimony, which ordains that one must be exactly so to his partner in the 50th year of his marriage as he was in the 50th hour of his courting. Thus the engagement must be timely, and our sense and temper must be perfectly ripe, which means, that love must be mutual, and lovers genteel; for matrimony, like everything else in nature, has its proper and prescribed time.

What are the happiness of marriages now? Out of 100 of them, 80 would give anything in the world to be single again. How is that? Because when they married they had no sense, they did not think of the future, they counted upon their friends, they had not settled yet their temper, which now is broken to pieces; they have found perhaps, besides, that their revenue is too small, and their patience too little. Philosophers maintain, that contrast in nature is its very beauty, but contrast in marriage is the very ugliness of it.

Well matched partners are decidedly the greatest blessings in this world; it is a heaven upon earth; but the accomplishment of it is very difficult, for pride, vanity, cupidity, and passion, are often knots that tie the nets of life. Society is, and ever shall be, divided into different ranks and stations, which, having different duties to perform, have their sentiments, manners, and, above all, their means and incomes differently formed. It follows, that what is a pleasure, and valued in high circles, would be only a trouble and vexation in the lower ones. The feelings and ideas of such classes are differently expanded and cultivated, and hence the difference of manners and sentiments of parties married in different stations and ranks.

In the higher circles, which signifies the possession of abundance of means and plenty of money, parties have no difficult nor weary duties to perform, they only think and plan how to pass the hours of life agreeably. Their more refined education, and more elegant society, prompts to look at everything that is refined, exquisite, amiable, charming, and entertaining. Free from all unpleasant cares of the world, they launch into the sphere of illusion, fancy, bewilderment, and pleasure; they only seek the satisfaction of their elevated sentiments and flattering ideas; and, like the sunny bright-hued butterflies, they roam from flower to flower, and suck its fragrant sweets, or leave their stings in it. When the epoch of adoration arrives, they look for something ne plus ultra of a partner. The sentiments begin to play, yet advances are reserved until long, to express which flowers and their language are resorted to, -some are plucked up from the vase or a bush and thrown away, some offered, some declined; then a song may be performed, bearing a title, "I should like to be thine for ever," and a demand follows, how the song is liked;

then the language of eyes is resorted to; then, perhaps, a hint in an evening dance. That mankind required such refinement of feelings is proved by the ages of chivalry; for they have left behind them histories that immortalize the name of women; they contain such sublimity of feeling, such a variety of fancy, that the most remote ages will look back and view them with pleasure. Tournaments and balls are the testimony of men's utmost desires to ennoble women: no riches were spared, no trouble was saved to approach those enchanting halls, where woman displayed her gentility, tenderness, affection, and beauty. To such impulses the world owes its improvement, its elevation, and its beauty; otherwise men would have remained too martial, too cruel, and too severe. Every delicacy, refinement, and perfection, flows from gentle woman; and many men, to please the fair lady, to fulfil her desires, and satisfy her sentiments, do more, through the impulse of her influence, than they would if commanded by law or reason. Hence her influence became a might, which she now wields in society, and it is so powerful, that it made a renowned philosopher exclaim, "We rule the world, but the women rules us." Refinement and delicacy in a woman are the sweets and blessings of society, yet they are understood and felt only by those who are genteel themselves. Vulgar minds and hearts know them not. Such qualities are always expected in high circles of society, in which they know no necessities, no cares of the world, and have but one duty to fulfil, which is to improve and beautify society. Hence parties of high circles must have peculiar qualities of perfection to render marriage happy. clink of gold cannot respond to the warbling of love, nor a canary be happy with a sparrow.

In the middle circle of society the duties of women greatly differ. Economy is of great importance. A merchant, or a man in an office, has no time to search gardens for flowers, and learn accomplishments to amuse; women have many things at home to regulate; thus their fancy does not fly very high to the regions of illusion; reality is more necessary, and employment more common, which does not allow them to look always neat and tidy; therefore the fancy has no field in which to sport. The gentility of both is, however, still more needed, as well as good sense, not to interfere with each other's duties. As the higher classes of women adorn society, improve elegance and manners, so the women of the middle classes often retrograde such advances, by

undertaking employments quite unfit and improper for them. middle class woman has plenty to do in order to keep her house and family respectable; she ought to know, in the first place, cooking and washing,—not to do it, but to superintend the servants; because, when the toils and troubles of a man's office are over, there is nothing in this world like a good dinner and a clean shirt and bed. Such parties should not waste their years of education in music, or painting, nor go too far with poets and historians; for their partners may prefer the Scotch bagpipe to the piano, or a funny rough song to a sentimental and sweet one; and the best history for them is to know and consider their own internal and external position with neighbours, and mind their own business and their own house. Extreme cleanliness and regularity of time are the best accomplishments. Man's duty should be different employments at hours of leisure, of things needful and useful to increase income, or expand the comfort, such as writing, painting, turnery, or gardening. Woman should adorn her house by different needle-work, or netting curtains and Both should spend their time engaged with something else than prattling nonsense and staring at each other, or sitting in a gaping mood. Conversation for thirty or forty years must exhaust itself, and too much familiarity and inactivity destroys It is horrible to see women devoted to esteem and affection. business behind the counter, or watching the husband's revenues. All women are by nature more greedy, selfish, and more obstinate, although far less reasonable than men; once in the practice of pocketing money, they grow so stingy that they live and exist on gain. This answers for so bad business; for there was never a century in which there were more women eager for a shop and selling than the present one in every country. Hence cheating of customers, and high prices of goods, which are the fruits of greediness; hence stagnancy of money, for women will not part with money; hence they learn to cheat, to impose, to grudge, which increases by their natural disposition. Their appearance loose, unclean, and disagreeable, presents them in a most unfavourable condition. In one word, there is nothing more shocking than to see women in business; it spoils their manners, makes them rough, vulgar, and often impudent. They have no taste for any public entertainment, nor improved appearance, but would bring anything home and lock it up. Yet, temper-temper is the very thing that is needed, which, by commercial pursuits, is generally spoiled to such an extent that it makes that class conspicuous for being ever out of temper. Hence men, tired of petticoat government, rebel, and pass their time in clubs and hotels.

In the lower circles of society, the duties of women are quite different. Although their imagination does not go very far, their love is frank and very strong, and complimenting does not last long. Often two who meet and seem to have a liking to each other, express it very naively, by seizing a rose and flouneing it in the eyes of the other, which they mean to be the language of flowers and eyes. That class could be very happy; nay! happiest of all. Their limited knowledge, and desire of society, makes them contented with their own lot, and still more limited acquaintances and friends, do not inspire envy, nor jealousy, nor aspiration, nor intrigues. Were they but better supported, rewarded and educated, they would present a picture of happy simplicity and real bliss; but their present poverty and ignorance deprives them of all the reality of such benefits. Such women should be brought up to domestic duties, such as making their own dresses, sewing, washing, cooking, in order to extend their limited income farther, and that, in the hour of absence of their partners, they should be able to earn a little to increase their gain and comfort. Such an education would be but a trifling expense, but now, alas! there is none—the want of which, as well as cleanliness and temper, places many of them in the most wretched position and quarrels. A cheap and neat house, as proposed, and also trebled salary bestowed upon them, would spread the happiness of that class to the extent of many millions of human beings, and would save society from those dreadful outbreaks, revolutions, thefts, and murders, with which it is at present beset.

It is, therefore, plain that the higher classes ought to cultivate delicacy and refinement, in order to advance the elegance and beauty of society, to promote its improvements, and advance civilization. Their education, therefore, must be practical and of superior exquisiteness and brilliancy, as they have no hard labour to perform. Their duty is to be generous, beneficent, and liberal in expenditure.

The education of the middle classes must be domestic—trades, industry and arts necessary to a respectable maintenance should be their chief object and aim, as well as females house-keeping.

Their duty is to be industrious, sober, without avarice, without greediness; free in their expenses, yet economical, and their principal aim, home.

The education of the lower classes must be *labour* and work-manship. The knowledge of different branches of work and service must be their maintenance. All classes of society should protect them; for their duty is—work hard and constant, which, by all means, ought to be properly rewarded, and their protection in need more fully and more amply extended, which means emancipation of labour.

Such different education forms the variety of our feelings and desires, and inspires us with different opinions and aims in the world. But the best and wisest philosophy of each man ought to be, never to attempt to cross over into the circle to which his birth and his talents do not entitle him. Yet marriage is often looked upon as the way of elevation in society. This causes that many enter into the labyrinths of another sphere, and maze in difficulties from which they can never extricate themselves. Contentment is the greatest happiness. The fish must live in water, and the bird in air, and man in his native circle. Commonly, parties that marry differ less or more in birth, are brought up with different comforts, with different resources, have different political and religious opinions, and vary in their character and dispositions-hence a tremendous obstacle to concord and unanimity. Like two different metals, they must undergo a fire, to be melted into one body, which requires, first, time necessary for evaporation of grown habits and prejudices; second, the good sense to yield half of their roughness and primitive nature to each other; third, good temper to submit to each other willingly and politely, in order to melt in one inseparate body.

Yet, unfortunately, people have so much monkishness in their nature, if one rises up high upon some political, religious, or scientific tree, another immediately climbs higher; if one runs his course fast, another strives to run it faster; but those who are giddy, when too high, fall down and break their neeks; and those who are clumsy, when too quick, break their legs: and it is a good saying, that those who aspire too much, generally get nothing. Acquaintance with either higher or lower circles never does any good, they are both too expensive, and surpass the real means. To be reciprocal in kindness and favours with the richer

is ruinous, and often beyond the means; to be really true and polite to the poorer, is to grant his different expensive solicitations, and numerous demands, which is also beyond the means; thus the acquaintance of equals is the best, and equal marriages are the best; not equal in reference to riches, but in regard of sentiments, desires, ideas, temper and sense.

Early marriages, therefore, present no real benefits; on the contrary, parties early united, in a few years encumbered with a family, grow insipid, inactive, and less intelligent; home becomes the sole point of care, society is thought little of, and its improvements or reformation quite neglected. The parties who are rich may be excused, as their lucrative condition may afford means to vary their monotonous life, and they can afford a good education to their children, and extend their fortunes in accordance with their increasing necessities. They cause no burden to society; but parties of the middle class, encumbered early with a numerous family, deprive themselves of peace, income, comfort, and happiness, cannot afford to educate their children, and such grow up with little prospect of respectability, and are placed, in a hurry, anyway to gain a livelihood. It makes, besides, the fathers submissive to crave for their children the favour of others, which humility destroys such fathers' political and religious liberty, makes them tools of parties and dependants of prejudices. and strips them of that moral manly independence, which is the beauty and treasure of man's real happiness. And, besides, such an example to children is pernicious and derogatory.

But the marriages of the lower classes are most absurd and most barbarous. All society feels it well. The over-population of many countries produce thousands of vagrants and poltroons, who are only a burden in peace, and base traitors in war. Of all countries, England breeds them in the greatest abundance. There is already in that country 380 individuals to a square mile, whilst in France there are only 220, in Germany 180, in Poland 96. A common young fellow, neither a tradesmen nor an artizan, merely an apprentice, that hardly has an idea of any branch of business he is to learn, with a year or two of insignificant practice, without talent, without skill, without friends, without money, without shelter, a real French sans-culotte; but the worst of all, without any prospect of future trade or employment,—a boy, a silly uneducated youth, marries a factory girl, or any other girl, inexperienced, unfit to cook or wash, an uneducated giddy fool.

They stick together till the mutual discovery of want of proper temper and sense, abilities, and often cleanliness, make them sick of each other; they live like cat and dog, and having multiplied themselves sufficiently, they assail and throw themselves, with their vagrant families, upon the parish, and become a burden on the town and the nation. What business have the rich and middle classes to maintain such a vulgar generation? business have they to deprive themselves of their industrious and assiduously won incomes to pay for the nightly pleasures of brutes? A man that has no chance to protect and comfort a weak and innocent female, and to treat her with that kindness, charity, and goodness, for which she is created, is a villain, because he sacrifices the everlasting comfort and happiness of another being to quench his brutal passion; he reduces the finest soother, and most gentle comforter of his life, into a most miserable and starving wretch; he sends his children into vulgar beggary, and flogs them every night if they do not bring home the amount stipulated by him, and, at the first favourable opportunity, runs away from home, and enrolls as an apprentice with Such men should be thrown into closets to die the death of the Russian Empress Catherine. How many thousands of thousands of them are there who would give the world if they were not married? Why did they marry? Who advised, who prompted their union? Nobody. They married when they were young. They had no education whatever—they did not know the world—they did not know the duties they had to fulfil towards society, towards the nation—they did not know what society, what the nation was-for they did not know what they were themselves. They did not know that the interest of many men in every country is the early marriage of the working-classes; for a poor man looks for all his comfort and joy to his wife; he fixes his affections early; he becomes located on the spot to which his wife and children fasten him as so many screws. He becomes dependent and helpless, his liberty is over, and then his labour, as he is needy, is got for nothing. He cannot wait for something better, he must take what is offered, or see his wife and children crying and starving. He therefore resorts to all kinds of imposition and trickery. His children, being uneducated, grow wild and wicked, and become good-for-nothing members of society. They either begin their early life in begging, or work for wages that cannot support their physical frame, and grow in-

firm, vicious, and ignorant men. What can their future conduct be? What fulfilment of duties to the nation can be expected from them? Of what good are they to society? They are only useful for some years in factory service, till the rich man has made his enormous fortune, and then dismisses them wholesale to sing in the streets, and the middle class and householders must pay enormous poor-rates to maintain them. Or they may be useful and profitable to another class of shabby tyrants, who hire them to revolt, and inspire them to pillage and violation, as the banners of Paris, bearing a similar motto, were intended. Paris has already escaped such a dreadful fate, but London, with its 500,000 vagabonds, may yet give a more dreadful and bloody lesson to the misgoverned nations. Why cannot the laws of the country put a restriction, a check, upon imprudent and criminal marriages? Only wild beasts and dogs have no restriction, no check (except those who have the misfortune to fall under the protection and power of men); and happier than men in their savage existence, they never lack food nor shelter; for nature gives them abundantly. This is because they follow the order of nature more strictly, and only take what they really want. But wicked and rapacious men must have a check, and they have such already existing. If a certain Count paid his addresses to the daughter of a certain Earl, if even their love was great and mutual, there is yet a check to pass, that check is the father. He refuses, and the parties yield, and they must obey; and after all they do not die from despair. If a gentleman courts a merchant's daughter, and the father interferes to the contrary, all is checked, and parties must be contented. A soldier cannot marry, and he is satisfied. A priest cannot marry, and he submits. No officer in a European army can marry, if he does not prove that, besides his pension, he has means to support a wife. The respectable and well brought up parties cannot marry without the sanction and consent of parents, and thus they submit. are already existing restrictions, voluntarily adopted by respectable people. Why, therefore, should not a ruffian submit to the laws and regulations of the country and society?

Under the proposed plan of education and emancipated labour, the child is taken out of the hands of poor parents at five years of age—is educated till 15—starts in business, and at 30 years of age, has already 15 years' service; from the trebled salaries he has also an important sum in the Savings Bank, and

in his 35th year, he shall have his pension. So should be regulated both sexes of working classes. They should never be permitted to marry, except they can show a diploma of having finished their education, and had ten years' service with good The man should be at least 30 years old, and the woman 23. Then they shall be both employed, and their conduct known; both man and wife will have their half pensions approaching to them. Their children, no matter the number. shall be educated gratis; by these means, vice, crime, and misery, will be replaced by virtue, honesty, and happiness. A law in regard of marriages should be established—that no man whatever should be permitted to marry, except he can prove a sufficiency of revenue necessary to support his wife in accordance to her and his station in society, nor until the man has served half of his time for his half pension—which is ten years. Any one wishing to marry independently of the marriage laws, will be welcome to follow his unwise propensity—but he will not be accepted in the corporation nor government factories, will have no certainty of employment under the private speculators, no pension for life after even his 60 years of labour, and his children shall not be educated, nor accepted in the public national schools. All those who advise the poor working-classes to marry early, are wicked and unprincipled monsters in human form, who only advocate its degradation and misery. What are the consequences of early marriages amongst working-men, but the present misery, distress, and ignorance of that class. If they, including women, had their wages trebled, commerce, employments of different kinds, and numerous situations, would tenfold increase, and open regular labour for millions of men. The circulation of money would be then unarrested, for the people would dress and live better: but now it runs into the coffers of greedy speculators, who lock it up in banks, and live upon the interest. What enormous sums of money are not imprisoned to-day, which, under the new plan, would have uninterrupted course, and would perpetually influence the resources of all classes. Whoever, therefore, advises a poor and ignorant man to marry early, deludes him into perdition and starvation: such an adviser is an agent of tyranny—a rogue.

Every man wants a wife—every man does what he possibly can to gain one to his liking—many millions of them waste seven or eight years in their panging attempts—thousands die of

disappointment, and when at last they get what they prize so much, what do they do? Abuse them most shamefully. What privileges, what protection have women? None. What prospects in their old and often worn-out days, caused through their constant labour? None! How is their labour rewarded? By payment of a trifle! They in general suffer more than any one can possibly conceive. Omitting the higher classes, whose fortunes are the weapons upon the intruders of their pleasures, and whose friends are stern supporters; what is a woman of the middle class, but a submissive tool in the hands of a haughty man-her partner? They entirely depend upon their husbands' temper and habits: and with the meekness of a dove must submit to the fury of a vulture. Many men receive bad education, and many women none; and if we except their knowledge of a single branch of some employment (which they only know as through a cloud), their manners, habits and temper are never cultivated: they grow pedantic, rough, fiery, and vulgar companions. The degree of liberty which they enjoy in their infancy and youth, makes them eareless of manners and of politeness; and, like a shell that always smells of its fish, their manhood smells always with the odour of their uncultivated youth. The death of a husband is generally the ruin of a family-but why should a man not be commanded by the law to put aside, in accordance with his revenue, a portion for his family? Such a tax of affection would be far more important and honourable than a tax upon a house or a dog. Wise and good men shall not need it, but spendthrifts, drunkards, or gamblers, which are, and ever shall be in every country, ought to be restricted in their frolics, and commanded to their duty. Happy or not happy, they must cling all their lives together, although one of them may be the ruin of the other. Why not facilitate divorces? why not lessen this expense? If rich men can divorce, why should not the poor? Esteem and harmony once broken, seldom mends; why, therefore, does the law force them to be unhappy and live in constant war and enmity? A regulation that a certain amount out of a man's income or fortune, must be paid to his wife and children for their support would be wise, as preventing many mischiefs on the part of men; but to force them to live together is tyranny.

The women of the lower class, are, in Europe, decidedly the most miserable slaves to the men. The horse, cow, or dog, will

be better treated than their unfortunate wives. It is so because all low people are ignorant and brutish. A woman of the lower class receives no education whatever in her infancy, and cannot help herself after; thus she must be submissive and obedient to the most absurd caprices and whims of her uncouth husband. Here comes out visibly the need of instruction for the workingmen and women, which alone could alleviate the burden, under the proposed system of education. Good and industrious men will have no trouble and expense with their children, and they will be able to support their wives better; and even the children, when grown, would render cheerful assistance and help to such parents, as the condition of such children will be tenfold more profitable and favourable than it is now.

Considering now the rapid increase of population in Great Britain and Ireland, every year the births exceeding the deaths by the number of 300,000, shows that every ten years there shall be one million of inhabitants more, whilst in all probability the exportation of goods will be tenfold less, and home provision always the same. This presents not a very smiling future! Marriages, therefore, should be very much examined and restricted; for a man who is not able to help himself nor his country, has no business to ruin himself, nor hurt society.

We now see plainly that a great deal of misery in the world is caused by the early marriages of the ignorant people, who have no good sense nor temper. Such, however, cannot be produced but by education, which, if not extended to the lower classes, misery will be everlasting.

The education of females in the high and middle classes, is only artificial and erroneous. Young ladies learn how to dress their heads, and stuff their dresses behind,-how to lace themselves tight, and squeeze their ribs, as if the resemblance to a wasp was a beauty, unaware that every man, without exception, likes a substantial figure, like that of Venus or the Three Graces, and not one that would break in two at the very touch,next they learn how to sit and walk gracefully, how to sing and play to please, -in one word, they learn coquetry and flirting, which qualities are nets to catch birds. Sweet smiles and words they know from poets, sweet sentences and sentiments they know from novels, upon which they spend their valuable time; and they are so skilful and artful in setting traps and nets, that

a man must be wise to escape them, or not to believe that they are really elever, industrious, and handsome. Instead of that, they should learn first and assiduously, the temper and sense to be meek and reasonable; next, all kind of needle-work, all kind of netting and embroidery. Instead of childish, fanciful novels, they should learn universal history, next, that of their own country, and the history of what passes at present in the world, -of different societies, and existing institutions,-to acquire good sense. Then, instead of going too often to the theatre, puffed with swan-down, and cock-headed with ostrich feathers, to show their teeth and eyes, it would be better to go oftener to a scientific and instructive lecture, to improve the mind, and expand the ideas. Instead of music and singing, for which many have no talent whatever, and only waste time and money, it would be better to go to market, to learn the best pieces, as well as their prices, and superintend the cook, and learn niceties. Those are the cages which will keep husbands at home, and there will be plenty time yet to see all the frolics and fun of the world in their company. Young ladies now think more of the ballroom than of the kitchen.—more of sweet nonsense in conversation, than historical truth and reason, unaware that to talk with one for forty years is not so easy a matter. They are fond of love, but know nothing about it, and play and sport till they lose their control, and often health and happiness; when all is too late they are severely reprimanded and tormented. It may be inconvenient for parents to dwell upon such subjects to children, but they would, in the newly established seminaries, be acquainted by the lady mistress, by proper books, and descriptions of the men's character, their motives and intrigues. would prevent many early engagements, which often must be broken at a too distant or too late hour.

The lower class of women receive no education, therefore there is nothing more to say; but their deplorable condition is great, and this must be remedied. As it was stated before, in the treatise of "Employment," the working-women are very miserably supported at present; they ought to have their salaries increased, and pensions for life, as well as the servants of all work, who, after years of hard and laborious work in the most respectable houses, deprived of permission to marry, worn out and ill, die in hospitals. Such servants as have been named should

have their wages stipulated,-sufficient, at any rate, to clothe them, and that they may, besides, save a part of it yearly, for their old days, which sums should be paid by their masters to the banks. But now they work for nothing, and cannot afford to dress, from their paltry wages of L.3 or L.4 a year; whilst their tedious, monotonous, and hard labour, in cleaning the house and kitchen daily, is decidedly more deserving. They are treated in the most cruel manner, and then the world complains that the servants are so bad. Why are they bad? Because they do not see any recompense, any chance to gather something together for the future; but, above all, the temper of the mistresses, so generally short,—the commands so disorderly and changeable,—the orders so irregular and inconsistent,—that they, the servants, cannot make out what is wanted; and all the quarrels and disputes are generally the fault of the mistress of the house, who understands better the novels, the fashions, and her dresses and bonnets, than the order and regulation of the And if the servant is ignorant, and the mistress uncducated, the harmony and peace of the house is impossible. circumstances are very common, and, trifling as they appear to be, they are the cause of great mischief, for the bad temper and want of education of the mistress of the house, creates a bad harmony in all the family.

In spite of so many visits of reformation in our modern epoch, men seem to be so entirely occupied with their noble selves, that they have quite forgotten their better halves, and women were never included in one of such reformations. This may be strange, yet it is true. We now arrive at a very serious circumstance, which is, that women, who were destined to adorn, to influence, to charm, and to soothe man's life and his sorrows, unfortunately add now greatly to his distress and misery. The subject is one of great importance, but must be only hinted at, leaving enlargement of argument, and its regulation, to proper powers. It is very wrong, however, that it is kept always unnoticed, and although sin created its enormities, the silence of the matter is profound; and although all classes and ranks, without exception, partake and patronise it, no one of them dares to speak, and all play the hypocrite exceedingly well. It is not well to laugh at infirmities, nor criticise them, but to point them out, in order for redress, is but prudent. About this time, which is fully the

half of the year of 1848, impropriety rose so enormously high, that it re-echoed in the walls of the House of Commons, when the proposition was made by several members, to suppress the profligacy of the metropolis. Let us state shortly that there is 150,000 women every evening throwing themselves upon London streets, and that another 150,000 are pursuing secretly the same trade, to which must be added all others in London proceeding some way or other on the same road. We perceive that it is a tremendous army, sufficient to conquer any kingdom's morality. Next, the idea presents itself that, with the suppression of sin in public, such will be committed, or at least sought eagerly in private; for nature yields not, and shall never be conquered. Every London's night is a grand counter-revolution of its moral days, and the battles are so tremendous that the dreadful number of victims puzzles the ingenuity of London doctors. If crime is regulated by gaols, if vice is regulated by prisons, why therefore should not sin be regulated also? Charity should be extended to that point, as well as to others; for none of these women, from their first start, survive more than eight years. is therefore, not suppression, which is impossible, because it is against nature, but that some regulation of it should be devised and performed. Many of the noblest families and most respectable ranks, are unable to avoid the net,-married parties, as well as religious orders,—young people without number, fall the victims of their forgetfulness and thoughtlessness, and often bring ruin and illness, not only upon themselves, but in the midst of their families. That such is the fact, everybody knows, and nobody can deny; hence it follows, that the dreadful misery, resulting from illness, should be prevented.

The Germans seem to be more sincere, and more prudent than other nations; and Berlin, by the order of government, has already houses, to which the entry is so arranged that it is unperceivable. These houses are of an immense size inside, furnished with all possible elegance, provided with numerous baths and small gardens, and divided into pavilions of different names, to which no one can enter without a ticket of a certain price. Such tickets are issued by a doctor, who is always present on duty, and has his visiting rooms at the entry of the house, so that no visitor can pass into the house without paying him a visit, and undergoing a kind of examination. Those who

live inside of such houses are well fed, beautifully dressed, and daily undergoing the visit of a doctor. They are besides instructed there in most necessary employments and different amusements by appointed teachers—they are bathed and comforted to the utmost, under the regulation of matrons. Thus when it is impossible to prevent sin, health and respectability is perfectly But what is the state of towns at night in all Europe? most derogatory, most dangerous, and most pernicious. a number of females lost to society, whose trade is poison—what a number of victims, who, in the prime of their lives, are bereaved of physical strength and health, and are invalids and cripples in their old days! · Men were not ashamed to build and arrange gibbets and gaols, and appoint hangmen to regulate thieves and murderers, and why should they be ashamed to regulate sinners, when all men, without exception of rank and profession, are such more or less? It is true that many of them do not seek it willingly, but where is the man in the world, that having an easy opportunity would not avail himself of an advantage. None! Fie! Hypocrisy leads us to ruin, guilt, and crime; because uncontrolled sin, left to private speculation, is the cause of incredible private crimes. What enormous sums are overpaid by men, to the injury of their family,—what robberies, what impositions, what dark accidents are hid by the veil of night,-how many parents lose their children! how many marriages are ruined! all by our hypocrisy, and useless falsehood. All this is the result of the stupidity of governments, who, heaven knows, are the most hardened and loose sinners themselves. Away, then, with prejudice and hypocrisy; men, protect your health, for this is the greatest of the great treasures of our short and temporary life.

The British government, with the appearance of virtuous philosophers, propose the suppression of sin, which, considering the parties, sounds very droll. Do they know what is the chief cause of it? Small wages of working-women and female servants; no emancipation of women's labour, and the wickedness of men. The girls of any factory are the living volumes of men's guilt. Let, therefore, the oppressors set and begin with themselves first, and regulate first labour, then increase wages, and afterwards help comfort, which things they have taken good care to secure with ponderous chains to themselves. Let them

release misery. and sin shall vanish! But how can they do it? Very easily. The time they spend in base intriguing, revels, drinking, gambling, hunting, racing, and balls, let them turn to moments of sound thought, of reason and justice: and consider that the high station they grasp at, is not for the gratification of their paltry individual pleasures and fun, but it is given to them to rule, regulate, and improve the condition of those who pay them dearly for it.

The truth is bitter, but it must be told once by somebody. Yet, sharp words are far more honourable, and far less harmless than sharp bayonets, swords, and daggers—and a reformation on paper is better than pillage and massacre.

CONCLUSION.

GREAT as we are, we shall all be eaten by LITTLE worms.

The conclusion means to arrive at the point. A long life and a MERRY ONE,—that is the point. But soldiers and diseases kill us, and thus shorten it: the clergy console us, but consolation means only a remedy for dullness,—all kinds of aristocracies, in taking what is best for the enjoyment of life, shorten it again: and the ministers misruling us, make that life very dull again. are the four stanch pillars upon which tyranny reared up her castle, and so it stands for ages. The origin of it is as follows: The very first thing mankind did, surely, they eat and drankand having nothing else to do, they no doubt have quarrelled—to suppress which, they have chosen a leader, and he created a power to check their fury-hence kings and armies. As they had also primitively plenty of all things, thus, like all lazy men, their minds sought for idolatry and worship—hence clergy. The first cunning tyrant that perceived in mankind such a position, espoused the favourable opportunity, and built two great pillars diagonally, and called them-Army and Church, and made of them the tools to support and maintain his estates; and he said to the church-Behold! because men are fools, you must get out of them all their riches and benefits for my use and pleasure; and as a reward for their obedience, promise them all possible luxury in future life, and give them the best possible consolation in their reverses, and all blessings here; -if you do not so, I'll smash you both! And he said to the army-Behold! because men are quarrelsome, you must keep them quiet. I'll give you fine dresses and fine salaries; but, whatever I will command, you must do it; and if you wont, I'll flog you all to death! And

so it was in the beginning—so it is now—and so it ever shall be. But when the people grew wiser, they wanted to upset those pillars, as the castle stood only on the two diagonal extremities, and thus get rid of tyrants, who, however, perceiving the danger, and not willing to be accountable for their deeds, built a third pillar, and called it Ministry, put into their pockets fine pensions, upon their heads fine coronets and tiaras, and gave them fine titles of statesmen and judges; but cunningly threw all the responsibility upon their heads, and so misery lasted. Then the people grew wiser; so much so, that the wisest of them, thinking it impossible to upset the eastle, resolved to share the spoil and pillage, and cunningly getting first hold of the money, they next bargained with tyrants for monopoly, and lastly, built the fourth pillar, most stupendous and most mighty, and called it Monopoly. And here we are born to see that amazing and wonderful giant chateau, raving upon the four massy pillars of Church, Army, Ministry and Monopoly. But at last the people have got wise, and they see that unless the castle of tyranny is quite upset and broken down, and in its place the new temple of liberty, of newly carved stones, is raised up immediately, there shall never be the slightest possibility for universal happiness, peace and comfort. What do they do? they began destruction, and in a few years, who knows but the castle shall sink low, and its ruins will give accommodation to the gloomy night owls, when the daily ones shall fly away.

How can that be accomplished? By arms or by wisdom? Decidedly by the latter. The emancipation of labour, for which mankind rises, can only and alone redress such a humiliating and slavish condition of society. Emancipation of labour is simply its organization, but not the right of a man to labour, to which he has no more right than he has to the bread which he wishes to eat, but which he does not cultivate nor bake for himself, nor labour enough to purchase. No mortal can promise labour, but any wise and just man may regulate it properly. Let us now come to it and explain the organization of it, in such a simple manner that any one who is blessed with even a little of comprehension and sense will understand it immediately and plainly.

Let us take any nation under the canopy of heaven, and admit that it is composed of 30,000,000 inhabitants. That nation has its earth and its money—somebody is thus the owner of it.

As men cannot live disorderly like a herd of wolves, they have a prescribed method to proceed, speak, act, and behave towards each other—they must be governed some way. Thus they must have a leader and laws, as in a single family there is a father and rules. They form such in accordance to their wisdom. Supposing now that in this nation the fifth part of them are the owners of land and of money, so that they can lead an easy and comfortable life without labour, they will thus want many things which must be made by other men. The land must be cultivated. and those who cultivate, although they have nothing, must live also. The experience of centuries teaches us the following facts: That one half of the population live in towns, the other half in the country, which in a nation as above, will be 15,000,000; that in every family, composed of five labouring persons, two must work to support five, that is, the father and son works to support themselves, wife, and two little children. We know, besides, that in the richer circles, who are not labourers, one must support four, himself, wife, and two children, or a child and a servant. Thus in the first instance, two work for five; in the second, one Yet, taking things at the lowest possible scale, let us suppose, that in such a labouring country population one must work to support three, himself, wife, and a child, or a servant. As the fifth part of the inhabitants, which is 6,000,000, exist independent of labour, it follows that the remaining part, or 24,000,000 are born to work. Thus they must be employed, but the half are living in towns, thus there remains 12,000,000 labourers necessary to cultivate land; and because one works for himself, wife, and child, or for three, thus the third part, or 4,000,000 must work to support themselves and 8,000,000 more in the country.

Now, again, 30,000,000 inhabitants require on an average at least two suits of clothes per annum. Thus the men require 30 millions suits, the women other 30 millions. To make a suit one man or woman must work at it two days; thus 60 millions suits require 120 millions days to clothe the population for one year. Therefore 200,000 suits must be produced daily all the year round, counting 300 days in the year (excluding Sundays), which makes 60 millions suits. Because one man or woman makes a suit in two days, to make 200,000 daily, requires 400,000 people's daily labour. Everybody, besides, wants two pair of boots, as well as linen to change; then hats, braces, neckerchiefs, for

the making of which, separately, another two days are required for each. This will therefore range the employment as follows:—

LABOUR.

To make 30 millions	men's suits, requires the daily		
labour of		200,000	tailors.
20 million	. man an'a anika	200,000	

,, 30 millions women's suits, ,, 200,000 ,, ,, 30 millions pair of boots, ,, 200,000 shoemakers.

, 30 millions pair of women's shoes, , 200,000 ,, , 30 millions charge of men's linen, , 200,000 linen sewers.

,, 30 millions change of women's linen, ,, $200,\!000$,,

" hats, braces, neckerchiefs, bonnets, ribands, hooks, buttons, tapes, gloves, buckles, &c., &c., 200,000 different trades.

Total, 1,400,000 workmen.

It requires, therefore, the labour of 1,400,000 persons daily, which service will be constantly required in future years.

To produce now the materials for such suits requires another class of working-men. Every man having two suits requires eight yards of cloth; and women from fourteen to twenty yards of calico or muslin, or merino or satin. If one man wants eight yards, 15,000,000 require 120,000,000 yards; and each woman's twenty yards will require 300,000,000 yards of stuff. The 120,000,000 yards of cloth a-year require 2,400,000 yards per day, and 300,000,000 of calico, 6,000,000 yards per day; ten men being able to make 1000 yards of cloth weekly, and 2000 yards of women's material, or one man 100 of the former, and 200 of the latter per week, it would require the following number of workers:—

LABOUR.

To manufacture	cloth, and female materials, the daily labour of	50,000 1	men.
**	linen, the daily labour of	50,000	
**	leather, ,,	50,000	11

Together, 150,000

Thus to feed 30,000,000 inhabitants, requires 4,000,000 labourers 1,550,000 workers.

Together, 5,550,000

Now let us go farther, as 50,000 inhabitants require 10,000 houses, counting five persons to each, it follows that 30,000,000 will require 600 times more than 50,000, which is 6,000,000 houses. This perfectly agrees with all European towns. We

know also that three men can build a small house in two months, and six men in that time a very large one; therefore, admitting the average of five men to one house for two months, and that they cannot build in winter, it follows that five men can build four houses yearly. And because we want 6,000,000 new houses, we would require 7.500,000 men to build them in the course of a year; but, extending the building of it over ten years, we would require yearly only 750,000 masons. In the same way, to build 10,000 miles of railway, and knowing that 100 men can finish one mile in one year, we would require 1,000,000 of men to build them in one year, but extending the labour over ten years, we should only want 100,000 working-men yearly. This primary work does not include the secondary one, such as, for the first, needles, pins, silk, thread, cords, buttons, brushes, knives, scissors, &c., &c.; for the second, lime, bricks, iron bars, wood, carters, &c., &c., to execute which would require 100,000 secondary labourers in addition for each. Thus adding to feeding and clothing labourers, which already amounts to 5,550,000, we extend as follows the

LABOUR.

Feeding and clothing,				5,550,000
Masons to build new h	ouses,			750,000
Labourers to build railways,				100,000
Secondary labourers to	masons,			100,000
,, to	railways,			100,000
		т	otal,	6,600,000

Of this number 5,750,000 men will have employment for their whole lives, and 850,000 have their labour assured for ten years.

So far we may count with certainty on those branches unceasingly employing 6,600,000 individuals, and we must remember that this is only a hard labouring class.

Let us now go further, and consider that between the rich and poor classes, there is an immense field for numerous employments, such as governors, officers, elergy, doctors, professors, artists, lawyers, clerks and assistants of all kinds. We may conclude, that of 30 men in every country there is one who has such, and generally has it for life. This makes room for another million of inhabitants more, and increases the previous number to 7,600,000.

This does not include army, navy, nor police, nor the numerous and different kinds of servants, which no doubt will amount,

seemingly, in the average of one to 30 persons, and requiring the service of one million of men more, would again increase the employed for life, to 8,600,000.

To this again we must add young scholars, pursuing education. We shall have 6,000,000 children learning as boarders in schools, who, if arranged in accordance with the previously proposed plan of education, would live by means of the corporation loans, to be repaid by them in future; and thus they would form another class of independent people and increase the number of employed to 14,600,000.

We see here an enormous number of employed at home without any burden to the nation and with great profit to themselves, and because 24 millions out of 30 must work, and 14,600,000 of those could have everlasting employment, the remaining 9,400,000 remains inactive. These considerations should make us pause and think; what are those remaining old women and men? did they not work hard all their life? have they not made fortunes? ves, but not for themselves! What have they now for their whole lives' hard labour? A priest promise of a heaven. Oh! dire disgrace, why not regulate labour? Such old invalids will have their retiring pensions, and instead of cursing, as they do now, they shall bless society. Are they not commonly our old infirm parents, or our weak little babies, entitled by the law of nature to our entire support? We know that in every family, composed of five, three work to support other two, viz., father and two sons supports a mother and a child. Such families, therefore, making two out of five, make four out of ten, and make eight out of twenty to be considered as excluded from labour, which is generally the case, and which makes 8,000,000 out of 20,000,000 unfit and exempted from labour. As the previous calculations left only 9,400,000 people unemployed, and 8,000,000 ought to be supported, and are so, it leaves only 1,400,000 unemployed. We must, however, remember here, that many secondary employments were entirely omitted, such as butchers, bakers, grocers, brewers of spirits and beer, black and white smiths, paper manufacturers, printers, lithographers, goldsmiths, porcelain and glass manufacturers, and many hundreds more; and, considering the numerous shops in which they are disposed, as for instance Edinburgh, having 16,000 shops to 26,000 houses, thus having one shop to fourteen inhabitants; or London having 130,000 shops, thus having one shop to fifteen inhabitants,—we can draw an average, that for twenty inhabitants there is one shopkeeper, which makes, for 30,000,000 inhabitants, 1,500,000 shops. We should therefore count employment for at least 2,000,000 more. To this 2,000,000 we must add the servants of the independent people, which were not embraced yet, and knowing that many rich parties have a great number of servants, we reckon two servants to a family of four, thus for 6,000,000 of them 2,000,000 more would be required. We see now, finally, that only 1,400,000 are unemployed, but, as we pointed out, that other employments require the services of 4,000,000, we arrive at the conclusion that in a country of 30,000,000 inhabitants, having properly arranged labour and employment, we are short of 2,600,000 which we could employ yet favourably.

How is it, therefore, possible, in the name of heaven and earth, that the misery should be so frightful and so enormous, whilst in the country of 30,000,000 inhabitants there is comfortable and nice room for 32,600,000. Such labour and employment, besides, is only primary, for direct home consumption and first necessities, exclusive of the secondary labour and employment necessary for foreign exports and speculations, which again would employ millions, and bring enormous riches to the private speculators. Had I but a precise and perfect estimate of the average of national production and provisions, the average of the indispensable and necessary wants of the people, the average of its working-men, as well as professionalists, and its independent class, I could arrange, a simple and unpresuming being as I am, the employment and labour of the whole nation at home, entirely independent of foreign speculations, so constant and so unceasing, like the punctuality and duration of a watch to a single second. But to talk about the impossibility of regulating labour is nonsense; not to believe in it is ignorance, and to oppose it is tyranny.

Ye presumptuous European fops—ye Christian mirmidons—gapers of ages—look at China, with her 300,000,000 of inhabitants, with the history of her kings for 4000 years, and her existence of treble that time, quite peaceable and reasonable, governed like a family by forty legislative tribunals, whose elders are brothers, and the king the father; with her magistrate and moral lawgiver Confucius, existing independent and mighty, without the least need of communication with any other country, without prophets, without deluge, without hell, marking her historical

epochs by heavenly eclipses of stars. Go ye there and learn wisdom, order, morality and brotherhood. The history of China is the history of heaven with that of earth; but the Europeans mark their epochs by the eclipses of tyrants, by murders and pillages, and European history is the history of earth with that of hell.

The great question now is, how to arrive at the power to be able to arrange the emancipation of labour, how to ameliorate the condition of all classes, how to create favourable circumstances, in spite of mountains of opposition, seas of prejudice, and morasses of ignorance and obstinacy, how to start the work. Such a question sounds heavy and difficult, but in reality it is one of the most common things in human affairs, which has already often occurred in various countries, but its advantage has been always misunderstood and neglected. There are two countries from which civilized mankind expect a start, and such a superhuman task of heavenly redemption might be fulfilled either by France or Poland. The first may solve it by wisdom and influence; the second may solve it by wisdom and force. With an examination of these two problems the work will close.

FIRST PROBLEM.

The emancipation of labour, and the creation of the mighty power of wisdom necessary to reform mankind, must happen as follows:—The first nation that in future will break out and succeed in its revolution, must,

First, Put an end to royalty, and extirpate every vestige, even the slightest remembrance of it, and its public monuments should be east out of sight. A representative chamber should be instantly formed, and governed by a president elected by the universal choice of the nation for five years, to be eligible twice, after an interval of five years. The chamber should be empowered with the choice of ministers, whose term should be of five years' duration, and who may be four times re-elected, in accordance to their conduct and capacity. Members of the chamber should be elected by ballot by their respective constituents every three years, but may be re-elected for unlimited years. In such a plan lies a perfect balance, and the nation

may be able to see its future veterans of wisdom. The nation could choose its members, and re-choose them triennially. These would form the ministry for five years, which may exist scores of years, being moreover independent of the very chamber that elects them, and dependent only upon public opinion. The nation again could choose its president thrice, independent of chambers and ministers, who in return would be independent of him. The president and ministers should not be elected upon the same year. Such a plan will prevent all intriguing or the formation of preponderating parties; it will prevent even enmity or dissention among the members, and will be a powerful check against purchasing strong parties, or bribing the poor. All members should be handsomely paid; president, at least one million, the ministers one-half.

Secondly, The temporary government should form and proclaim immediately a constitution; and submit such to the examination and trial of the chamber, which should instantly give successive publications of all its discussions pro and con, and its decisions; and the people must wait patiently three or four years for its accomplishment. Amongst the first and most important regulations, the chamber should instantly form and proclaim a law of the constitution, enacting that all the lands which shall be bought in future for the use and benefit of the public, shall be valued and paid according to their real worth and value. This law will be the basis of a nation's future enormous riches and most gigantic undertakings.

Thirdly, The chamber should choose a man of military talent, to whom the uncontrolled guidance and disposition of the whole forces should be given, for so long as the chamber would consider it proper—because the president may be a wise man, yet not a wise general. Such a chief commander, and the army, should take their oath to serve the nation and the government. The government should immediately take all possible measures and means to inspire the soldiers with ideas never to serve parties nor individuals, but the country. To learn them the national interest, as well as to instruct them in the best and speediest manner, that they may understand their station and duty, and that they may not permit themselves to be led against a just and righteous cause, nor use their arms to the peril of the country. Periodical army pamphlets, written for the instruction of the soldiers, would be the best. Government, besides, should

by all means try to win the affection and confidence of all the troops.

Fourthly, The treasury and money should be directly regulated and settled, because many parties will commit bankruptcies and play tricks to involve government in difficulty. There cannot be much difference in the revenue, caused by the desertion of the rich or discontented, for the lessened patronage will lessen the demand. If there is stagnancy in money matters and bankruptcies to a great amount, government instantly should seize this opportunity for the national interest and advantage, and issue loans on good securities, to important and great establishments, which not being able to pay at the appointed time, would pass the business into the hands of the government. To others of smaller standing, government should lend money upon goods, with unfailable benefit upon the sale if needed, and thus take the trade out of the speculators' hands, into that of the nation. If the people are thrown by private parties out of employment, this is the finest opportunity the government has to realise millions of profit to the national treasury, and assume a proper and mighty power of interference, in the following manner:-The government should instantly proclaim, that because the private parties cannot support their working-men, (and there are thousands without work,) the government takes those men to employ them as they were before. Factories should be immediately built, the wages of the workers trebled as proposed, the sale-price reduced, and sold over the country at the regulated prix-fixé, in the government bazaars, under the superintendence of corporations. In a few years all the world would be government customers, and all working-men would become its labourers; and as they shall be better paid and have their pensions, as explained, for life, they will form a tremendous army of dreadful lions, and would support the government which so handsomely treats them! Such factories and bazaars must be instantly built, in order to abolish the indirect commerce, and introduce in its place a direct one. There shall be no army able to beat such well drilled working-men; who, besides, in a few years would force, with their mighty, industrious hands, the enormous treasures to the National Bank, as the profit of their earnings. The very profits of the first year, if the articles were sold cheaper to the public, would not only pay the wages of all of them, but also the building of factories and bazaars.

Fifthly, Taking the same reigning and general distress for a further pretext, the government should proclaim that the universal complaint being made by the whole inhabitants of the deficiency, dearness, and misery of dwellings, and because private parties cannot reduce their rents, government orders the building of new towns by the side of the old, beginning with small numbers, but intending to continue the work. Another employment for millions opens here—another means to enrich government treasures, as every million pounds or louis-d'ors will bring, in 68 years, a clear profit of L.1,711,000, as explained before. Another army of masons would appear, who would go through thick and thin in support of the government which increased their wages, diminished the hours of labour, and gave them neat and cheap houses. They would form an invincible army which would keep their ground against the whole world.

Sixthly, As a matter of course, the government being now obliged to send their goods to the bazaars in different towns, must send them almost gratis, not to over-increase the price of articles. A few thousand miles of railway will thus be required, and they ought to take the advantage, and instantly set the work a-going, as an opposition to the former high prices. Another enormous sum, from this source, would flow into the treasury of government, on an average of L.1,711,750, or louisd'ors, as a return for one million of issued papers, in 68 years, as already explained. Another army of men will rise, whose fidelity and sacrifice to the government, nothing in the world would shake.

Seventhly, Under the same plea that private parties are unable to educate their children, and that ignorant and lazy men are only the pest of a nation and its burden, government should instantly order that all the children of poor parents, at four or five years of age, shall be taken away from them, and placed in the educational institutions for ten years, as proposed, and pass a law that, in future, no one will be employed by government who will not join such schools, and produce a diploma of good conduct and finished education. The rich parties should pay in advance, and should have different houses, yet must submit to the rule, or instruct children at home, by private teachers, and send them afterwards for examination and a diploma to the finishing university or college. In fifty years a nation would be a different set of beings altogether, and they would laugh at the

barbarity of the year 1848. In the first place, such children would be all perfect soldiers, as a result of many years' drilling, quite fit to be good officers, and would be also capable of following several trades, as well as reasonable men to deal with, and not brutes and slaves as they are now. No man was ever good and reasonable in his manhood, if he was stupid and vicious in his infancy and youth.

Eighthly, The government should not meddle with religion, as by doing so it would only wake and harass the snake that would sting it deadly. It should only proclaim the unlimited toleration of all kinds of religious creeds, yet exclude the men whose department it is to teach the doctrines regarding a future life, from any

interference with the present.

Ninthly, Being rather difficult to arrange such a reform in a very short time, and considering that people are very impatient, especially when they are poor, and have nothing to do, and nothing to eat,—whilst there may be an urgent demand for labour and employment by many, the government should resort to the Emigration Plan, as proposed, upon the principle that such may be only temporary and of few years' duration, and that parties not satisfied, or not able to continue their stay, should be permitted to return home, and others have a trial. Yet such emigrants ought to be completely provided and protected. That would encourage many, whilst the riches would open new arteries to increase the national treasure. Emigration should be a matter of speculation, full of future promises, but not as it is now, a matter of despair and the result of misery.

Tenthly, Such a gigantic plan and its execution will require enormous sums; and many will doubt of the possibility of its success, on account of the unwillingness of assistance by private speculators, and on account of the extensive outlay and necessary credit to government. In reference to the first, it was stated already that such a government, which would be nothing less than the nation itself, would not only have as much right to speculate and increase its treasures and well-being as anybody else, but even more, because it would be for the benefit of those classes who are the real foundation and the radical resources of the nation, and who are generally poor. The government would, besides, do it to increase the national treasury, for the help of all citizens without exception, and then all the money would be applied manfully and justly from the national fountain; whilst now,

money is craved and begged privately; and if obtained, it must run through so many hands, each sucking a profit, that when it arrives at the source of relief, not one half of it is to be seen. The private speculators, besides, will have the right to proceed in their dealings uninterrupted; the difference will be only this, that instead of taking, as they do now, 100 per cent., they will be obliged to be satisfied with 2 or 3 per cent., or the people, otherwise, will fly to the national factories and bazaars. allow a man to take 100 or 200 per cent., because he happens to have plenty of money at his disposal, is the same as to allow a highwayman to rob passengers, because the former happens to be stronger and better armed. Those who advocate the liberty of a man to gain as much as he can, because he has pecuniary advantages, are advocates of robbery and theft; for if everybody should be allowed to take the advantage if he only could, the whole laws of mankind would concentrate themselves in the following very short sentence:-

Let us rob each other in the best way we can. Never mind religion, morality, honesty, wisdom, or laws, as long as we can get money; and as money opens the gates to the gratification of every desire, be it just or not, money we want, and money we must have; and because enormous fortunes can never be made by one individual's industry, talent, or labour, let us therefore educate ourselves lawfully in craft, cunning, hypocrisy, and cheatery, that we may take each other in, and intellectually escape the reproach and the punishment.

There is one country in Europe practising it word for word. Its middle class live upon mutual robbery and cheatery, and are so busy with it that they do not care for any other improvement of the country. Government gave them laws to rob each other ad libitum, and they went to such extent, that even a heavenly and most just reformation would be a ruin to them. Thus they joined the government and the army, and are ever ready to strike down their lower classes in the shortest time, to nothingness.

All kinds of oppositions were and are always welcomed by society, for by them are exposed the rapacity and greediness of others. Opposition, therefore, must be started by the nation itself, through its government, which can be easily executed under the protection of an army of working-men, knowing their own interest, and the improved and civilized state of soldiers, who by

this time will stand on the side of national rights, and not on the side of rich oppressors. As to the second difficulty—money, it has been already mentioned in the Building of Railways and Employment, how much is to be made. A strong government, supported well and sincerely by its people, may easily regulate the paper currency, when the whole nation could see the probability of its gradual payment; but many now object because they do not see it. We have seen that to build 6,000,000 houses, at the rate of L.1000 each, would cost L.6,000,000,000; but suppose that only the lower and middle class houses were attempted at first, amounting to 500 each, and including in it the building of numerous manufactories in different towns, the sum would diminish by half, and it would be as follows:—

L.3,000,000,000

100,000,000

Education of children, admitting that one out of six is a child needing education. Thus out of 30,000,000 inhabitants, there would be 6,000,000 of them which, at L.10 a-year each, would cost L.60,000,000, but suppose it to be,

100,000,000

L.3,200,000,000

The total number of papers would thus amount to a sum which makes us stare at it. Now, the interest at 5 per cent. would throw yearly into the national bank no less than, from the houses, L.150,000,000; from railways, L.50,000,000; and from education, 50,000,000; together, L.250,000,000 a-year. Besides, the amount of papers burned each year, at the rate of L.15,000 out of one million pounds, would cause such papers to be destroyed every year to the amount of L.45,000,000, and in 68 years, such papers would be entirely burnt, and the debt of L.3,200,000,000 and the interest of it entirely paid. But what would be more astonishing and deserving our peculiar notice and admiration, is the following result, which the nation should derive from its industry and wisdom:-We know that one million pounds interest, in 68 years, including yearly payments, by instalments of L.15,000 a-year, amounts to L.1,711,750 profit. If one million brings that sum to the lender, a thousand of millions will bring a thousand times more, and three thousand millions, three thousand times more. As the government would advance L.3,200,000,000 for building of towns, manufactories,

railways, and school establishments, it is evident that in 68 years the government would see all this amount of papers burnt, its interest paid, and would find in its possession in bullion, as interest for it in gold, no less than L.5,477,500,000, or nearly double the amount of the guaranteed and issued papers. This ought to calm down our astonishment.

Here the mighty power of labour shows itself. Such houses already stand, such manufactories and railways have existed, not 68 years, but many of them 100 and 200 years. What enormous riches they have produced, what labour they have called forth! Where is the money, the comfort? Gone into private speculators' hands; they are rich, but the millions that worked for it are poor. Yet labour is a giant. What now, for instance, are the lands of Great Britain and the fortunes of its inhabitants worth? Judging from the income tax, which is 7d. per pound or £2, 18s. 6d. per cent., and admitting it even at £3 per cent., it shows that the tax of £5,000,000 a-year comes from property which amounts to £167,000,000. Admitting now, very reasonably, that on an average every man requires 2s. a-day to live-1s. a-day for lodgings, and 1s. a-day for clothing, 25,000,000 inhabitants require £5,000,000 a-day, or £1,825,000,000 a-year; yet, admitting that half of them have nothing at all, the former sum will sink to half, viz., £912,500,000, thus exceeding the value of the country and its private property by £745,500,000. From whence then is the money taken to maintain them? It is labour, labour, the mighty labour that produces it, and that labour is trampled now under the golden elephant's foot. The people thus must try to wrest it from the misruling grasp of private money aristocrats, and place it under the wise and just regulation of the new government, and thus solve the first problem. Such a government would be worthy of the country. Such a country would be worthy of her government. Five thousand four hundred millions in the national treasury would place the nation upon a different footing altogether, independent of another sum like that earned by their additional industry and exportations abroad, as well as by the home manufacture of elegant and luxurious articles. What enormous riches constantly flowing to the benefit of all! What unfinished, unexhausted resources for it! What is 68 years to uselessly consumed ages? Such future existence of three scores of years would push mankind further in refinement, comfort, and happiness, than the past eighteen centuries have done. Here is

30,000,000, not of savages and imbeciles, but citizens worthy of that name, who arranged themselves so as to have

6,000,000 Citizens independent of labour.

6,000,000 Children under the act of education.

4,000,000 Farmers to cultivate the land.

1,550,000 Labourers to feed and clothe the 30,000,000 inhabitants.

750,000 Masons to build the towns.

100,000 Labourers secondary to these.

100,000 Labourers to build railways.

100,000 Secondary assistants to them.

1,000,000 Doctors, clergy, lawyers, professionals, clerks, and assistants.

1,000,000 Navy, army, police, and all sorts of public servants.

2,000,000 Shopkeepers, and secondary ornamental businesses.

2,000,000 Servants to rich parties.

24,600,000

leaving only 5,400,000 for infirm old fathers and weak babies, although their number is, as it was said before, 8,000,000. In such a case, here is a nation that employs 24,000,000 of its inhabitants for their lives, with plentiful renumeration for their employment and labour, and which positively could employ 2,000,000 men more, independent of foreign caprice, enlightened at home, regulated by wise laws, having only about 6,000,000 of elderly fathers and helpless children to maintain. Here ends the solution of the first problem.

But where is that country, that government? What are the European nations and governments? What is Europe herself? Let us have here an "unvarnished tale," and say whether Europe is not a swarm of ants, gathered in nasty and filthy

heaps—the prey of vultures.

What are the kings of Europe? Crowned patented butchers, cowards and poltrons. One of them, head of the country and the church, knouts his serfs to death, fills up the dungeons with the innocent, carries off the children, seduces all his maids of honour, with a serpent in one hand and a dagger in the other, like a demon, terrifies his subjects all around. Another of them, a coward, shaved his whiskers, and hid himself, like a thief, in the corner behind the clock. A third imbecile run away from the metropolis and his eastle, and sought shelter in the country, and, like an arrant vagabond, is watched by soldiers and police. A fourth, having found that his craft is exposed, had recourse to perjured lies, and made promises which he never meant to fulfil, and which caused his subjects to shed blood and commit pillages.

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Another poisoned a friend at the court,—in one word, of all of them who have existed in all countries to the number of thousands, and whose names already have perished with the worms that have eaten them, more than nine out of ten were slanderers, murderers, fools, and drunkards. The first and most stubborn pillar upon which they sat for ages is the army.

What are the armies of Europe? but a mass of unintelligent ruffians, clad in scarlet, which means blood, and, like the Siberian convicts, carry the brazen numbers nailed to their heads, which means, like in Siberia, the name of the convict, who, for a shilling a-day, will fire at any other man without the least conscience, will burn any village and town with cool indifference, will support any fool without any consideration, and will die any way like a dog. For what? For money. Without any idea of the world or society, hired slaves, headed by the coxcomb officers who know only how to empty the bottles, and take advantage of females; they are most pestiferous annoyances, that barricade the social circles, deserving only to be thrust upon the bayonets they carry.

What are the clergy of Europe? that second pillar of tyranny. Tale-tellers of futurity, bamboozlers of salvation, which they never shall see themselves; encouraging the people to suffer filth and misery as the crosses of heaven, promising them things of which they know nothing themselves; dependent, besides, upon a few violet and purple imbeciles, appointed by the tyrant, whose business it is to provoke the course of intellect and wisdom. To accomplish this, they command the clergy to enforce perilous and barbarous prejudices upon the young and rising generation, in order to imbibe them with falsehood, to convince and make them believe in errors that have neither order nor sense, to accustom them to blind obedience, to work them into tools of servile creatures, and to ruin their sense, reason, and manly existence in the very germ. Such is the service which society receives from them.

What are now the ministers of Europe? that mighty third pillar of kings. They are brazen-cheeked conjurors, wizards, and jugglers, cheating out of their very senses the gaping spectators, who are ignorant of the artful machinery behind, which they cover dazzlingly and brilliantly, and which looks beautiful, as all the royal courts are. They know nothing about the country; for they kill their time in cotteries, intrigues, and party enmity, instead of studying the machinery of it. Good painters and poets

have the whole work arranged in thought and feeling before they start. All good generals see the armies in their mind, if not in the field; on perceiving a mistake in one second, give advice in another. A good engineer sees a mistake in a piece of machinery in one minute, and starts to work at once. But the poor barrenminded ministers go months about the examination; they make a long-tailed procession, with committees like a snake about it, then sit down comfortably and discuss and argue about a trifle for days and months, that a driver of a cab could settle in five minutes. They are sheep-heads, good only for broth, to feed the witches with. The very first moment the people outbreaks, they are all flying off in the livery of footmen and drivers. A shabby disguise, an unfortunate condition of a degraded life. But no wonder, they are the pets of tyrants, appointed by them to thrash the millionous herds.

What are now the monopolists of Europe? The fishermen of the social sea, all angling for gold fish. They are entirely a new sect of men; their god is-gold; their church-the countinghouse; their Bible-a ledger; and their motto,-" Get as much as you can." They have set their nets in all the passages of flowing currency, and, united together, they form a tremendous committee, to whom all religious, political, and commercial vassals must pay a ransom. They have eaught the governments by their tails, and ere long, some of those monopolists will rise yet to the prime ministry of the people. They laugh at crowns, for they have formed a golden republic, of which they are undeposable and absolute consuls. Enemies to every improvement, supporters of any troubles and any evil-(for the raging social sea offers them good fishing and contraband trade)—they are most indifferent animals towards the rest of creation. Cunning, craft, and villany are on their coats-of-arms. They buy mankind like a herd, and re-sell them again, and are a most difficult species to Their existence for two centuries longer would make all mankind villains!

All Europe, therefore, is a grand butchery, of 300,000,000 of pigs and cattle, at the disposal of a few butchers and their executioners, who can cut off their heads with a golden axe, or stab them with silvery bayonets, or force them to hard labour by the knout, or make them panging and starving, by hiding

the corn; and they all suffer and hope, and hope and suffer; and all of them bleat and bray their prayers and their thanksgiving for it.

One nation, therefore, must ripen, and rise, and start, and lead to perform the first problem, which means the abolishment of vassal and tyrannical governments, and the establishment of liberal ones instead,—the immediate emancipation of that giant, labour,—and the regulation of employment, which will establish a direct or straightforward commerce. But is it probable to expect that any nation could arrive at such a perfection of education and such a summit of morality, as to be so wholly and inseparably joined together, as to understand, and be willing, and have power and resolution enough to do it? No! Men are frail, imperfect, but, worst of all, ignorant and obstinate. They shall be always led astray by some spirit or other, by some party or idol, and thus most unconsciously romp and tear the sublimest and most just undertaking of the wisest and cleverest men. talk of it to the people is useless; for they are ignorant, mean, and purchaseable, and, generally, when it comes to the scratch, they desert their leaders. To talk of it to the middle class, is worth no more; for pounds shillings and pence cannot agree with guns, bayonets, and swords; and to speak of it to the rich, is the most useless thing in the world; for having plenty of money and little of intellect, they only devote themselves to the luxury of velveteen apartments, which are a great contrast to the warlike tents. Yet there are millions in all classes, the majority of whom would be agreeable to the establishment of good government and the improvement of society, upon the principle that there shall be none that may become losers. They would soon support it, if they only saw an excellent plan prepared beforehand, and the probability of success; but more, if they saw a power that could conquer the opposition of ages, without any monstrous loss, and root out the prejudices with the skill of an eminent operator—the law. Nay, there are millions who could be even easily convinced of their present error, if only a good start should resound in one spot, for men take fire like gunpowder, quick and mighty. But the recompense arising from the emancipation of labour must be visible beforehand. Such benefits should be previously laid up in stores disclosed before the nation,—their possibility, nature, and readiness shown and proved previous to the start. There are even millions who, if

they were better educated, and not early imbibed with false prejudices, would at once offer their service and sacrifice to the righteous cause of individual liberty, and the common harmony and happiness of all. To proceed, however, this way, gradually and slowly, is the work of many a score of years; but should even such a slow road be a pleasure to pursue, the whole may, after all, be mis-directed by other nations, and rent to pieces, as was the case with Christianity, chivalry, reformation, free-masonry, One nation has already fallen the victim of its Why did Poland fall under the treacherous arms of Europe? Was it on account of her home disorder? England and France quarrel at home a great deal worse. it for her conquests? No! Poland never attempted to conquer her neighbours. She united herself with them in friendship, and by treaties. Poland fell because she advanced too rapidly in civilization. By it she terrified the absolute neighbouring tyrants, who plotted and criminally accomplished her political murder. Poland fell because she offered riches to the crowned robbers, her riches being inexhausted, and lying in productive lands, which no war, no disease, no fire can destroy. She fell upon her most liberal constitution, which became her death warrant, the sole cause of her ruin; although, after the lapse of years, one of her tyrants lately attempted to proclaim a similar, but made of it only a parody to appease, and then massacre, his revolted subjects.

The accomplishment of the first problem necessary to the redemption of mankind from tyranny is long, difficult and uncertain. France, however, to her everlasting glory, has thrown the gauntlet, and strives now to solve it. She may succeed, yet she may not.

France, as a republic, cannot exist alone and solely in Europe. To maintain the rank she held until now, she must have a government based entirely upon a powerful army;—to proceed in her bright career, she must gain the perfect confidence of her soldiers in order to settle herself firm at home. She must thus perform the first problem to the very letter, which she cannot do without an army ready to enforce it, in case of opposition. Having done this, she must not spare money, nor elever and learned men, but despatch them both to Germany and Italy, to revolutionize those countries entirely; to help them privately, in order to make, if not both, at least one of them a republic.

Germany is undoubtedly the most convenient and cheapest way. The conspiracy there should be carried on with the utmost rigour, and resolution, and boldness, to enable that shattered nation to gain reform itself. If otherwise, neither of them will arrive to a republican government; and in the shortest time, too, France will decidedly fall back again to the odious monarchy, with some new biped for her tyrant. Through Italy, by the means of agents and money, Hungary may be revolted and Then Poland may risedissevered from treacherous Austria. provided a revolution will begin and partly succeed in Russia itself, to give Poland sufficient time to gain her breath! Such is the plan for the first problem. Should France reject such a course of proceedings, she must drop her laurels, and kneel down once more before a crowned statue—she must renew the pillars of tyranny which she is now tearing, and build a new throne and other toys, and make room for another nation to lead, and that nation perhaps the one from which Europe expects the least. Experience will then show that to carry the next reformation, a nation must avail itself of the power capable to put down internal as well as external opponents.—a power capable to inspire confidence and fear, to make all obey; for we know that battles are not won by the most numerous armies, but by the cleverest generals. Hence every victory is a doubtful chance. Suppose now that a tremendous power was invented that could crush the whole European artillery, without the least danger or injury to that power itself, the nation who will possess such a secret would be the master of all. Such power is already invented, and belongs to Poland! That power, or machine, is capable to command respect, and inspire the fears of the whole world. Its very existence will be sufficient might, without any bloodshed, any fighting, or any further difficulties to regulate and command the wise and just laws of nations. It was said, "The star shall come from the north." It is done. This machine is the star of the north! Poland, therefore, will now start, and as there is no chance for amicable arrangements with malicious men, they must be forced to obey the voice of nature and the law. Thus Poland shall solve the

SECOND PROBLEM.

Which means that the settlement of European limits, abolishment of armies, emancipation of labour, wise constitutions, perfeet independence of individuals, and the holy freedom of all nations, must be introduced by force! Poland can accomplish it alone, perhaps not immediately, but the time shall come. The French government, to avoid all trouble and vexation, and unnecessary expenses, should now patronize the invention, and restore first Poland, and then settle themselves at home. the fall of Poland that humbled France. Upon the ruins of the first, the Moscovite barbarians trod their way, and earried thunders upon the head of the second. Had Napoleon stayed a winter in Poland, as advised by the Poles, and re-established the kingdom, Blucher would not have been at his back at Waterloo, nor would England have increase her national debt. France regretted the annihilation of Poland—she shall cry yet Europe will never enjoy peace nor happiness, as long as she consents to the inhuman murder of Poland. It is of no use to talk more to ungrateful nations, no use to waste voice nor pen upon people drunk with prejudices and ignorance. Mankind must be forced to be happy, and Poland seems to be predestined to the performance of such a holy task. Europe would not listen to the agony and prayers of tortured Poland; she thought Poland was done-but, no !- the malicious plotters could not extirpate her heart! Europe would not listen to the reasonable ery of civilized, Christian, and living Poland, but she will hear shortly the sepulchral voice of her spirit, although the language shall be different. The extirpation of Poland is a blasphemy of the laws of God and men, treason of intellect, violation of nature, whose wise laws shall never yield to men's stupid artifices. consequence, it is very probable that a nation which suffered so long and so barbarously, from the oppression, tyranny, and poison of courts; which withstood the hurricanes of dreadful and disastrous wars for centuries; which saved Christianity, but was afterwards only rewarded by being anathematized for it; which once had been a kind commander and generous helper of its neighbours, but who, in return, most treacherously crucified it; whose tree was stripped of all its branches by an unprincipled and stupid home aristocracy; whose drunken democracy underminded her strength and health; whose mighty corps next was struck with the thunders of the holy alliance, rivetted at Vienna by erafty cyclops, and whose trunk is now covered with human bones, wet with gore and tears;—that such a nation shall have enough of sense and will, when it will have the power to help other countries labouring in agony and degradation under the same kind of miscreants, is hardly to be doubted!

Surely the Great God has not created men to suffer hell, or its imaginary and invented mortifications. He did not predestine 2,000,000,000 of Christian mortals to enter heaven, while he condemned the remaining 7,000,000,000 to go to hell! Whoever preaches that, is a down right fool—this is Utopia, this is mania, this is everlasting condemnation of the intellect, morality, and happiness of mankind; a doctrine which no moral, instructed, and educated man can understand. Men were created by nature as the lords of earthly creation. They are endowed with intellect and wisdom sufficient to conquer elements and animal creation. A length of existence is given to them, far exceeding all other creatures; and they have given to them, besides, a peculiar quality, a laugh, which no other animal has; because they are created to be joyful and merry. Thus men are predestined to lead a long life and a merry one; and this earth has been given to them as most convenient for their comfort, happiness, and luxury—and their intellect, that they should make a heaven of it! Away with you-ye miserable blasphemers of God and his creation. Away, ye mad Cerbers! the hell you created upon earth, opens now its fiery gates to swallow you up.

Society will settle the query, which of the two has been right?—the one who said, "Knowledge is power," or the other who said, "Money is power." The aristocracy of money is already arranging itself in phalanxes of golden avalanches, and the avantgarde of its glittering columns has already had a skirmish in Paris. Wisdom, on the other side, prepares her Herculean members, and raises already her mighty club, firmly and boldly, to crush the opponents down. The dreadful fight is approaching! The tocsins are ready to strike! The whole of Europe is in motion A great genius is wanted, anticipated; yet a just and wise genius he must be,—Messiah should appear! Messiah,—that will redeem mankind from misery and injustice—crush the odious chains of slavery—strike tyranny dead—introduce and place Freedom upon the new throne, and fortify it by the im-

pregnable ramparts of wise and just laws, against which the most intrepid barbarity, prejudice, and insolence, shall wreck.

Everybody thinks now, without exception, that it is the artillery guns and bayonets that will solve the question, and decide the battle; but they are mistaken. No battle shall be fought,—no war shall boil,—all will end peaceably; for knowledge is stronger than money. Until now, wisdom was meek, gentle, and forbearing, but now it hath a Meduza's head, and will petrify ignorance.

A LONG LIFE AND A MERRY ONE!

This is the spell of the age! Away ye volcanic mountains of tyrants! Away ye cyclops of golden fetters! Down with the forest of bayonets! A gulf for the rotten laws! Hail, O thou morning star of wisdom, and the sun of salvation will soon follow you. Ye men who are the lords of the globe! wake,—rise,—unfold the banner of wisdom, and with the rage and madness of a maniac, uproot the centurial prejudices, enmity, craft, and folly, and throw them to voracious vultures to devour and burst; dispel the clouds of ignorance, blow up the fogs of obstinacy, clear the refuse and the compost of mountains and valleys, and let the sun shine brightly upon a

HEAVEN ON EARTH:

which means a man's long life and a merry one, for which we are born intellectual beings.

Men of Europe, listen! Do you wish to be nicely nursed when born? to be educated and well fed in your childhood? to be accomplished in your infancy? to be provided with employment in your youth? to be comfortably settled in your manhood? to be married to a decent and prudent woman? to have plenty to do and to eat? to have your children well educated, and well placed for the future? to have your pensions for life, and, when old, to rejoice in happiness of your growing generations? to have the means throughout the whole of your lives to amuse and enjoy yourselves in the hours of leisure, affectionately and instructively? and to be always healthy and merry?—Onward start, and emancipate man's labour! which is the heart and the soul of the whole

human society, and without which all mankind will be as they were, and as they now are, for never ending centuries, a mass of most impudent and miserable wretches,—intellectual vultures, gnawing the very bones of each other.

Ye few wise and good European men, stretch your manly arms to the immediate restoration of Poland, which shall be the redemption of mankind! Hasten and save Europe from the approaching new deluge of blood! Are the miseries and outrages of past ages not sufficient to prove, that unless men are ruled and regulated by wise, just, and strict laws, which could restrict and stop the usurpation and tyranny of high and rich classes, happiness is never probable, never possible; for although the very misery which they create produces always the thunders that crush their own heads, another head of the dragoon grows instantly out of it. Is mankind to be always as they now are, slaves to the few usurpers, with their lives and property dependent upon the caprice of tyrants? Will they never arise from the degradation in which they are prostrated, nor ever taste the pleasures and blessings of well-regulated society?

It surpasses every understanding, that such enormous masses of men as 9,000,000,000 should bow their necks to the petty number of about 100 crowned idlers! The distress is so great that even millions who appear and pretend to be comfortable are in utmost misery and want. The social arrangements, taken in the mass, are perilous—they are based upon a wrong principle the rich are always richer—the poor always poorer—honest men always fail-rogues always succeed. Society must be wholly reformed, for causes of distress and misery lie in many points as it was pointed out; reformations, therefore, of only certain kinds of abuses, and to a limited extent, are worth nothing. All reformations are only the loudly crying proofs that the wicked see their vices plainly themselves, and as soon as danger or death threaten them, they yield only a part of their privileges in hope that they shall wrest it again when a favourable time and opportunity will arrive. They do it through fear and inability to oppose, and not by any emotion of justice, or persuasion of reason, or righteousness of principle. What do the rich care though all the poor starve and die? And what should the poor therefore care if all the rich should die? Yet the rich make the poor poorer; whilst the poor make the rich richer, and there is the rub! All great mathematical, philosophical, and astronomical

problems have their rules and formulas, so the great problem of human happiness, or the proper regulation of society, must have its formula also. Such formula is short and simple, and what is more, it is known and desired by every man. This formula is as follows:—

As soon as man is born, he ought to be first well fed, then well educated and covered, then comfortably placed in society and rewarded for it. In manhood, when married, he ought to be settled for life, and be independent of any other mortal. His wife should be a well educated and reasonable woman-his house a sacred place, and untrespassed by the rest of men. His children, who will be the future citizens of the nation, should be no burden to him; for every animal and bird, as soon as it can walk or fly, is thrown out of the nest to provide for itself from unexhausted When old, he should have plenty of resources from his early labour. For this end he should be justly rewarded when good, and punished if bad, to prevent the corruption of and bad example to others. In one word, to prevent misery and procure plentifulness, to punish injury and reward goodness, without distinction of rank, birth, and station, is the formula for all reformations, otherwise they are deceptions.

So society should and ought to be regulated, if we wish to establish and enjoy in our short life a heaven on earth. Men should do as they ought, and not as they like. If they will establish and perform such a formula, they may consider themselves an enlightened and intelligent race of moral men; if not, they are nought but a mass of differently shaped and formed ourang-outangs, baboons, and sapajous,—a race of intellectual monkeys.

Every man knows, by examples of hundreds of public and private histories, that all nations and all men would take the advantage of each other if they only could. Now, for instance, Poland has been most shamefully treated, most villanously betrayed, by the very nations who are full of pretension to civilization, morality and freedom. The traitors are, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England! Is that instance, one out of thousands, not sufficient to paint what kings, ministers, and governments are, and convince us that nations, as well as men, must be bound by wise and strict laws, or pillage shall be everlasting? Are we to blame the inhabitants of those countries for it? No. It is their unjust, stupid, and vicious governments, over whom the curse of human damnation will everlastingly hang; but whose wretchedness, bar-

barity and villany will end, when the last judgment of European nations will arrive. For this, Europe is quite ready; the volcano wants only one man to light it up, and, ere long, it will be performed.

This work is written especially for the Poles, that when they shall have a giant power in their hands they should know how to use it. Like every severe illness that tortures for years her victim, and agonizes it with sufferings and pains that have no description, which ruin its physical force, and maddens its moral ones; so is the catastrophe of Poland to her suffering sons. Polish emigrants, struck mad with thunders of foreign treachery, split themselves in parts, and, with spasms of insanity, pursue deceitful shadows of political mania. Divided into paltry insignificant bands, they boil with rage and vengeance against each other; the spirit of emulation, and the desire of leading, forges out of their language, thunders, whose pestiferous odour and discordant uproar terrifies the listeners. To increase the madness, they are forgotten by their own families and countrymenare unfriended by foreigners, and spend their miserable days in agony and despair. The handful of the bravest and most enlightened officers of Poland, amounting to 5000 gentlemen, lead a life of miserable beggary in all foreign hospitable lands; and the 20,000,000 natives, holding the richest European granary in their hands, banquet and revel; and twenty years elapses, and that rich and glorious country, and its haughty aristocracy, have never sent to their relatives, heroes and defenders of the land they tread, and the liberty they now lack, even one potato, nor one single pair of boots, not even one shirt, which may serve as a winding sheet to the suffering exiled patriots. The Polish royal prince, robbed of his property by crowned thieves,* leads a life of bitterness, in the shape of a humbled individual, and furnishes a lesson, that men of genius or talent do not beg but command. He dared not once to take the crown that belonged to him and that lay within his reach; by that he lost the lands which he should have sacrificed to attain that crown. The Poles have no hope at home nor abroad. They have no leader abroad, and are a heartless emigration from a heartless country.

^{*} The French Republic has shown, by taking the property of Louis Philippe, that all of them must and shall have their reciprocity fully measured some day or other.

The good Prince started to Poland—and why? To raise the country-to lead the insurgents? No! to beg his property back. He found there an exile from France, Miroslawski, at the head of 10,000 armed scythemen. Did he give him any orders, money, arms, ammunition, to carry on war? No, not even a blessing! Where are the high nobles, who once numbered 100,000 strong, and, armed, elected your kings? once asked the learned Dr Lardner. Where are you now, you low scoundrels, may I ask you? The ladies of Poland, with their tender and delicate hands, embroidered a carpet for Lord Dudley Stuart to walk upon. Had they filled it with gold sovereigns, or had they sewed, instead of it, the shirts or made stockings for those gallant officers upon whom they sweetly smiled when they saw the gold epaulettes upon their arms, and fine flowing feathers upon their heads, but who now, alas, walk without boots or hats in London, Paris, Frankfort, Brussels, &c., &c., they would more have gratified the inexhausted in his endeavours, the most noble lord of lords! Lord Dudley Stuart does not want sweet compliments, he has monuments engraved upon the hearts of the exiles. His lordship would have been no doubt more delighted if the sensible and romantic ladies of Poland had kept compliments for future times, and have sent at present a ship or two, with flour or corn, that his lordship might have had the pleasure to distribute such to his poor, pale, and starving clients. Let those fascinating ladies know, that many of the Polish exiles wish that every one of them may have as many stitches in her side as there are in that enormous earpet. Has any one of them come here as a genteel soother and sweet comforter of our sorrow, grief and misery, and married an exile to soothe his melancholy, and disperse the gloomy clouds of his solitude? Not one! O ye ungrateful cows! What opinion can women have of the fellows that are deserted by the very girls whom they defended from outrage and shame! Ye have left the bravest and the noblest relatives and friends of yours in a foreign country to marry the secondhand dress-makers and bar-maids. May your husbands be Russians, and your children be monkeys! Three hundred Polish officers sought shelter in Great Britain; they have resided there already for sixteen years, and there is not one single Englishman who could boast, in spite of numerous applications, that he gave or provided a situation for a single Pole. I here defy all Englandnot one! Those Poles were formerly men of rank, of superior

education and appearance, fit for any saloon; but now they are vulgarised and unmannerly, living like sparows in the English garrets. And the world will talk and criticise the conduct of the Polish exiles! May heaven one day allow them to repay such welcomes!

DEAR BRETHREN OF ARMS!

Prepare! The cup of bitterness is filled to its brim. We have suffered long enough, heaven knows. Be ready and together. See!—in the midst of our gory land, wet with blood and tears, the enormous tomb of skeletons, the mountain of human unburied bones, clouded with the deadly darkness of night which has reigned there for years! Watch the breaking of that tomb. Behold! Poland is raising her face, panging with death, and pale as the moonlight! And hear how her shade, to the terror of aghasted Europe,—with a stare, maddened and full of agony,—with a sepulchral voice, like the breeze of a cemetery, winds her mournful whisper to us,—Avenge me! brave sons,—avenge me!

Onward, ye European martyrs, follow the inspiration of our noble poet, Mickiewicz, addressed in the Ode to Youth.

"Hail! spirit of youth, fly above earthly prejudices,
And with the eye of the sun,—penetrate
The enormous mass of human races,
From end to end!

"Hey! arms to arms, and with so mighty a chain,
Let us encompass this earthly circuit!
Let us shoot our thoughts to the same focus,
To the same focus our spirits!

"Away from your foundations, ye orrery globes, We shall dart you to hurl nature new courses!"

de. de. de.

Or his great inspiration in Farys, which is the presentiment of the invented, speedy, and uncheckable machine!

"Gallop ye madly, white-legged race steed!
Out of the way winds, out mountains, out rivers!
Out of the way, vulture! Speed, courser, speed!
For there is all round such a smell of corpse.
Stupid rider! stupid horse!

Brethren of like hard fate, laugh now at ignorant and brutal ezars and tyrants; laugh at the indolent ministers; disdain the mercenary armed brutes; their murderous career has ended! Prepare and be ready, not to fight, but to judge Europe for her crimes. But let brotherhood, unity, justice and wisdom shine upon your banners. Into one phalanx, brethren! Search out for men of virtue and morality, and not for columns of murderers. Unite and help, destroy amongst you the different shades of political deliriums. One government only should exist in all nations, which must be based upon a wise constitution and just laws, and supported by the intelligent inhabitants. That is the point. Do not believe the crowned infidels, nor trust their perverted paid servants—the ministers; do not quarrel about them, for you waste your tongues and your pens in vain. Brethren, look first upon France, who, like Judas, had kissed Poland, to betray her; and then, like him, washed her hands from the sacred cause. Her republican government refused even a few fire arms, though solicited by a few exiles, wishing to help the last Polish insurrection! See her insolent cock, once crowing with impudence over the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Carpathian Mountains, over the Oder, the Danube, the Dnieper and the Wolga; how cowardly to-day, with his tail wet in the Seine, he dreads the northern bear, and dares not sound his clarion shrill in the glorious morning. What can you expect from such weak people, who, after the lapse of eight months, did not produce one single genial man, to whom the revolted nation could turn its hopes, trust its improvments, or anticipate good results? Does not the National Assembly verify their own proverb-"D'un sac a charbon, on ne peut tirer de la farine?" Believe me, hate them, for they are traitors and fools to our cause;—they betrayed Poland's good reception and assistance under Napoleon, and never yet paid the 60 millions worth of provisions which they consumed, and cannot perceive now that without Poland they shall never be able to regulate themselves comfortably at home, but be a herd of slaves and dupes to other newly crowned cheats, who again will put their feet upon their silly heads. Look now to England-to that boasting lion, performing havoc amongst eastern rabbits and cats,-how he hides his tail underneath him, at the sight of the northern bear; nay, how even the lion stooped degradingly to receive from the bear a purse, to raise the glorious Nelson a few inches higher. Listen how

England cries like a baby for her L.140,000 that she advanced for her treachery of Vienna and Cracow; and how the talented Times rejoices in the anticipation of wresting the paltry 10s. a week, (that could not keep an English dog comfortably,) from the men curbed by age, destroyed by atmosphere, sick of charities gathered through the means of monstrous bills placarded in the streets; but, worst of all, living in her shabby garrets. how she is tired of the loan that does not bring her instantly 50 per cent.; and behold with painful feeling the wretched state of the small group of innocent and betraved victims of Poland:—at the very time when old age, worn-out health, scanty income, and ruined prospects, makes their position wretched, and most requiring support, Great Britain, like a great hangman, cuts the last thread upon which their existence hangs. Hate them, brethren; believe me, hate them, for they are traitors and hypocrites to us Remember England, jointly with France, kept our Polish ambassadors in 1830, (sent by our senate, after the insurrection,) for two months in suspense, during which time we might have crushed the Russian troops, dispersed at that time over a hundred miles of distance; but after which two months they said they could not interfere in regard to the treaty of Vienna, and were obliged to leave the Poles to themselves. Every honest man speaks his mind at once, but every rogue's has its windings. they so long in replying? Because, by doing so, they gave time to the Northern Tyrant to gather his thousands of thunders together, that he might crush liberal Poland at once; and you remember that these thunders burst in vain smoke on the plain of Warsaw! Believe me, and hate them, for they thrice betrayed our country politically, and are now ready to starve her exiles meanly. All the world mocks you openly; they all betray you: Austria learns you how to massacre take a lesson from them. and extirpate opponents, and sends the peasants against their own nobles; Russia burns the whole country, even Moscow, to annihilate her foes; French and English people conspire to violate and to pillage. Why do you hesitate on any other ultimatum? If a private man is surrounded by armed robbers, he is allowed any means to defend his life and freedom; and if a nation is in the same dilemma, it has the same right to defend its existence and liberty. Poland is exactly in such a position. O horror! will you stand the work? No! have recourse to no such dreadful means. Thank Providence for the invented

power. Remember the advice of a Friend (a Quaker) to his son, "My dear son, get you money, get it honourably if you can, but if you cannot, get you money, son." Brethren, get your country honourably if you can; but if not, get your country any way. Landowners as you are, destroy the superabundant nettles and thistles, for your corn will not grow. If Europe denies our brave and honest race, defy them, mock them, and tell them, in French, avec bouffonnerie—

Quand on a tout perdu, et qu'on a plus d'espoir, On prend la queue de sa chemise pour se faire un mouchoir.

Remember that to put down tyrants, you must apply tyranny; to conquer villains, you must use villany against them. If Europe will not come willingly to our aid, throw away your gauntlet to the whole world! A bottle of poison in one hand, and a torch in the other,-these are your weapons. Mind not what villains should say. Burn the land, like the Moscovites, and raze it like the Austrians. You shall ennoble your peasants; for all the present nobles are descendants of human boors. You shall build a new Poland, out of her own plentiful clay. Choose a hundred opulent Poles, who can conveniently spare a loan, and insist upon their aid, or outlaw them! But be first wise and prudent; love you the Russians, persuade them, unite and conspire with them, for they are an innocent, ignorant, but volcanic mass; and when they shall overthrow tyranny, join them in an excursion to the East Indies. Why should the distant crows pluck the grains of India. Have you no beaks of your own? Conspire with the Russians; appoint a future day, and then rise, all and every where. Petersburgh and Warsaw is nothing, when the whole mass will rise. The day of start should not be the day of decision, but the beginning only, and years of interrupted fight the end of it. Misfortune knows no rules. I give you power and claim only of you that you should use it properly, as becomes brave and honest men.

Do not quarrel about government, like flies, that quarrel about the honey prepared with poison, for this is the national death! What do you want? To be republicans? Do you know what a republic means? It means a nation in which every man must be a gentleman! To be one as was mentioned, is not an easy task; because to be a gentleman, a man must be first independent. A republic, therefore, means a virtuous government, solely devoted

to the welfare of all classes, without distinction—a government that has for its ultimate aim to render men independent of each other, and then to make them gentlemen; for, if all things received from inexhausted nature and abundant art, are accumulated for common use, enjoyment, and gratification, one who takes the least and most insignificant advantage of it, injures and betrays the interest and the riches of Res-publicum. This is exactly what a republic is, a moral and virtuous government over a nation of gentlemen; quite the reverse of royalism, which means a crafty and vicious government—a nation of privileged tyrants, monopolists, and lawful robbers—capitalists; all living and existing upon the lower and middle classes.

It is not the great majority of mankind that organized and ruled, and tyrannized over society; it is only the few that misrule and abuse it now; and only a few are wanted to rule it manly; but wise men are scarce. Propagate, therefore, ve brethren and martyrs, the immediate restoration of Poland; proclaim it, lecture, speak, and write; unite one and all, and look for men and aid. A committee of forty Europeans, at L.10,000 each, may settle now the affairs of mankind. centum-virat of 100 men at L.4,000 each, would be the most glorious assembly that ever existed, and whose names would be handed down to forthcoming centuries with untarnished fame, and glory, as the redeemers of mankind's misery! Oh! what an immortal task to mortal men. It is no longer the voice of only one outraged nation that cries for justice—it is not only the groans of thousands dying in Siberia-it is no longer the blood and tears of Poland-but it is the fresh blood, the fresh tears of all oppressed nations, which, imploring in vain for redress, have already seized the destructive irons of vengeance. Brethren, I end my appeal to you. Cultivate the seed I now throw, and it shall ripen in time!

The downfall of Poland awoke in Europe the action of sublime geniuses and the help of opulent and rich men. Wisdom and riches strived to pour out their balms to soothe her bleeding wounds—thousands of most eloquent speeches were resounding round the globe—thousands of sums of money were lavished in her cause—but her enemies were so numerous that Europe dreaded the consequences of interference, lest she might have been overwhelmed by the ignorant barbarians, and her civilization and progress might have been blighted. France and Great Britain took a prominent part in helping the wrecked crew of the mighty ship of eight centuries' standing, that braved thousands of storms! They might have until now pled their inability or the expense of interference, but at present there is no way for excuse.

I have invented a superhuman power, which not only can produce the entire overthrow of the whole present and deficient system of society, not only annihilate the whole European towns, but which is capable to extirpate the whole human race! Behold! I submit it to the consideration of wise and just men, that the invention may produce a result moral and beneficial to all, and beg to propose the formation of the committee of forty or of a hundred!

Now, ye friends of Poland, who so tenderly and so sincerely have mourned over the fate of your ruined land-who poured out from the fountains of purest eloquence, diamond-like eulogies over her sinking greatness, whose divine speeches, like lightning, flashed throughout the whole of society, and electrified the hearts and minds of millions,—come ye now forward and prove to the world the sincerity of your noble feelings, and the truth of your eloquent words! Every nation has such as you in abun-Appear, therefore, as if touched by the magic hand of a heavenly wizard, range yourselves into a godly assembly, and with a holy-like voice proclaim the redemption of humanity. O! ye Britons, who boast of being mighty and free, show to the world the most noble example, as the result of your civilization and liberty, and lead the way to the fields of everlasting bliss and comfort! Range yourselves at the head of humanity, and lead nobly on to redemption. It is not the unwarlike Indians or Chinese, nor the idle Spaniard who will pay you homage-but the bravest nations will hail your triumphant march. Take by the hand suffering mankind, and with the same noble spirit and resolution with which you liberated the negro slaves, liberate now the European white slaves. L.20,000,000 to L.400,000 bears no comparison, yet the present cause will wreath you the laurels which shall last with this earth. Look to heaven, and see the order of the Almighty Creator! The sun lights us in the day,

the moon at night; the clouds prevent our being scorched, the heat of the sun prevents our being petrified. The earth nourishes us, the water purifies us, the air maintains us. Remember that such reciprocity amongst the nations is the law of God and nature, and the duty of men; remember that if heaven bestowed upon you the honourable station of predominance, and the glorious state of civilization—if it lavished upon you enormous riches, and rose you gloriously in beneficial establishments, that meanwhile it laid upon you certain duties to fulfil—these are your sacred duties, the omission and non-fulfilment of which shall end with your own ruin, as that of Macedonia, Carthage, Rome, &c. &c. &c. As soon as your neighbour shall be burnt, the brimstone and fire shall be set upon you.

Ye, therefore, friends of Poland, if you are sincere, you ought to be ready! Your distinguished and honourable names have long shone in all papers and appeals to the nation, you have nobly and willingly placed yourselves as the members of our literary and pecuniary committees, to help the exiled heroes. Your important speeches were heard in Parliament-your laudable interference for Poland was nobly tried; yet Europe could not expect you would undertake the burden and expense of a dreadful war against an army of 1,320,000 Russians, Austrians, The world looked upon you with admiration and Prussians. for the noble attempt; but now, prove to the world that when an opportunity is presented, and a power shown to you, as if by a wonder of heaven, you shall not shrink from the shrine of duty, but, like a noble giant, rise majestic, not in the cause of a party or a nation, but in the cause of the whole of humanity! Start, and the world will follow your example. Never was there a better opportunity to gain the hearts of all European people than now. Never was there less expense needed for so great an undertaking.

The friends and protectors of Poland in this country are decidedly the first party to whom in a case of probability of the restoration of Poland the plan should be presented and proposed. What a trifle would a loan be to such friends, extending only to L.400,000 for one year. Permit me, therefore, most respectfully to solicit the honour of your distinguished support; and to apply to you personally, by quoting your so long known names, cherished by your country, and admired by the Poles, as benefactors and friends to the righteous cause.

LADIES.

Her Most G. M. Queen Victoria, (then Princess) President to the Ladies' Committee of the Polish Exiles. Her Grace the Duchess of Hamilton. Dowager Lady Kinnaird. Lady Montefiore. Lady de Dunstanville. Countess of Cærnarvon. Hon. Mrs Leicester Stanhope. Mrs Beaumont. Hon. Mrs Singleton. Mrs Rothschild.

GENTLEMEN.

Thomas Wenthworth Beaumont, President of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland.

The Right Hon. Lord Panmure, Vice-President.

Lord Dudley C. Stuart, do.

Earl of Scarborough, do. The Rt. Hon, the Marquis of Breadalbane, Vice-President.

Lord Brougham and Vaux.

Lord Kinnaird.

Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P. Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.

Viscount Jocelyn, M.P.

Earl of Harrowby. Earl Fortescue.

S. A. R. le Duc de Nemours.

Lord Foley. Viscount Morpeth.

Lord Maidstone. Viscount Templeton.

Hon. Col. Leicester Stanhope.

Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Baron de Rothschild.

Sir J. Guest, Bart. Hon. Spencer Cooper.

Richard Monckton Milnes, M.P.

General Fox, M.P.

J. Wilson Patten, Esq., M.P. Frederick Pigou, Esq.

J. Lloyd, Esq.

Captain Townsend, R.N.

The author here sincerely returns thanks for the kindness of the 300 subscribers and patrons to his work about Poland, published in 1842; and would consider himself very happy should some of his former protegée extend their kind patronage this time to his invention. Many influential names would increase the former list as follows:—

Dowager Countess of Belmore.

Lady Marianne Compton.

Lady Colquhoun.

Mrs Robert Haig, Viewpark.

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. The Right Ilon. Lord Blantyre.

" Lord Dalmeny.

Marquis of Northampton. Marq. of Donegal,-Ormeau.

Lord Belhaven.

Lord Alford.

Lord Compton.

Lord Egerton.

Lord Murray. Lord Wood. Lord Jeffrey.

Wm. Murray of Henderland.

Rear-Admiral Fane.

Sir Thomas Dundas, K.C.B.

General Darroch.

Major Darroch.

W. Black, D.D.

W. Ryner Wood.

Sir James Forrest, Bart., late Lord Provost, Edinburgh.

Sir J. Cowan, Bt., Lord Mayor, London. Thomas Wm. Tottie, Esq. do. Leeds. Wm. Scholefield, Esq. do. Birmingham.

Henry Tootal, Esq. do. Manchester. Charles Blandy, Esq. do. Reading.

Wm. Williams, Esq. do. Northampton. John Biggs, Esq. do. Leicester. Robert Forman, Esq. do. Derby.

Wm. Black, Esq. do. Glasgow. John Hubback, Esq. Mayor of Berwickupon-Tweed.

Jas. Fielding, Esq. Mayor of Leicester.

J. W. Noble, M.D. Dannett's Hall. Chas. Hindley, Esq. Trover Sq. London.

Jas. Williamson, Esq. M.D. Leeds. Jas. Brown. Esq.

T. Attwood, M.P. Birmingham.

G. Attwood, E-q.

Thos. Clutton Salt, Wm. Phipson, Esq.

Dougdale Houghton, Esq. do.

P. H. Muntz, M.P.

Shunch, Sombay & Co. Manchester. Jas. Groom, Esq. Northampton.

Ed. Bouverie, Esq. Wm. Percival, Esq. Many hundreds of names more might be added to this list, who eloquently and well served the cause of Poland. Thus the nominal committee might be easily formed—but, let the parties themselves come forward and realise it, as a proof of their undaunted resolution and earnest wish to restore Poland. Let them prove to the world that they are not only the friends of Poland by motto but de facto.

The solicitation of ladies to such a noble task is nothing extraordinary; it is a common incident in human history. ligious, political, and domestic improvements owe nearly their entire accomplishment and reform to them. Many most bright actions, most gigantic ideas, most astonishing sacrifices, and sublime emotions, are created by them at their cheerful firesides; and their husbands and relatives are sent with such as messengers to announce them to the world in the public forum. Many magnanimous deeds of women pass unknown, because they do it with the noble impulse of virtue and modesty. They do not seek that temporary fame for which men die. The reality of this truth might be published in volumes, which would present to the world the sublimest examples of women's greatness, her noble courage, her devotion and prudence, which, alas! now are known only privately. Yet this would only increase the bulk of the work, and surpass the power of the author, because such great actions must be written with the pen of an angel. Many ladies, however, in Great Britain feel deep interest, and are inspired with the noblest sentiments for the cause of Poland. They have proved it already by the noble exertion and indefatigable care which they always conferred, and, by doing so, contributed to the perfect success of all balls and concerts given for the benefit of the That they feel equally as much in private, numerous instances might be given, but one may suffice.*

^{*} When the author lectured upon the fall of Poland in Northampton in 1840, he closed the evening in a private family, and in the company of a handsome, accomplished, and talented young lady of sixteen, who honoured the author with a long conversation and numerous inquiries about Poland. After the party broke up, the young heroine, elevated by the information received about Poland, which was full of gloom and sadness, she seized her pen, and, with her little delicate hand, raised a gigantic column of divine thoughts. So in the midst of the silent night, when all mortals slept, she, like a charitable angel, recorded her prayers to heaven. The poetry gave such a pleasure to the family in the morning, that it was sent for publication in one of the town newspapers that morning.

To the above named distinguished ladies and gentlemen, the author makes his first appeal, and solicits their profound attention and consideration of the invention. The author permits himself to summon and appeal to them in the name and cause of Poland; and begs to observe, that a country like Poland does not intend any longer to humiliate herself by begging, neither do their brave sons mean to condescend to solicit her restoration as an act of charity. Poland craves no more for favours nor obligations; she commands Europe, and especially France and England, who have betrayed her, to come forward manly and instantly

POLAND.

[Suggested by the recent Lectures on Poland by G. M. B. L. S.]

England! my cherished country! all other lands above; Land of my home, my household-hearth, my kindred, all I love; Thrice-blessed shrine of the Most High, where men may bow the knee, May build their altar by their faith, to hymn the Deity. Each night for thy prosperity, for thee, my prayers are given; Each night for thee, thy freeborn child, upon her knees, thanks heaven. Yet, England, thrice-beloved, the stain is on thy sword, The blot is on thy scutcheon, on thee sad tears are poured. Oh! had it ne'er been said of thee that thou stoodst coldly by, And saw the ill cause triumph over right and liberty, A Christian land desolate, God's altar overthrown, Nor lent a helping hand to save, nor heard her dying groan. Oh! nobly fought that little band against the mighty North, And dearly did they sell their lives, and well they proved their worth. They stood devoted to the right, they knew the hour was come; They fought for freedom, country, friends, for their children and their home. The foe thrice told their numbers, and yet that mighty swarm Was conquered by that little band, so Freedom nerved their arm; They won-the blood-stained field bore proof what desperate strife had been, For thousands of the formen in their homes no more were seen. Yet raise ye no lament for them, tools in a despot's hand, But weep ye for the gallant dead out of that little band, Who breathing out their dying sighs on the ensanguined plain, With thankful voices blessed their God they had not fought in vain ; And as they feebly raised themselves on the fast weak'ning arm, Looked round to see how many dead, how many left to arm; Who bitter wept, yet not because life's gay delights were o'er, Not that the voices long beloved should speak to them no more, But wept that in their manhood's strength, in the morning of their day, The strong arm should grow powerless, and rust their swords decay; Who if they had a thousand lives would have given them all for thee-Thee, Poland! could they but have said, My country, thou art free: 'Twas well ye died: triumph like that was not in store for ye, But groan, and fetter, exile's tears, mourning and slavery. Each struggle, and the chance grew less, that they should win their home. Till crushed, annihilate they sank, by numbers overcome. There were a few, a little few, who lived to see that day, Their fatherland, once freedom's home, held in a despot's sway, Their princes and their generals in the damp mine doomed to pine, And the sword lay waste and fire burns the god of freedom's shrine; Their children taken by the foe, enrolled amongst the band, Who scattered desolation o'er their own unhappy land,-

to her aid. She offers those nations the greatest honour, and most dignified station, to help her resurrection, and place her in her ancient glorious rank amongst the nations of the world. She offers them the most handsome and most noble opportunity to annul the crimes with which they are covered, in the eyes of the civilized world, and to separate themselves from the hideous league and shabby friendship of barbarous governments, whose soul is war and pillage. A man that is friendly with a swindler or a thief is a rogue himself; and a government that unites itself

And for the rest, go ask the grave, for she hath them in store, At God's tribunal to appear, when worlds shall be no more. Then will they stand accusers at the dread bar of the Lord, Their blood will be upon us-why drew we not the sword? Why did we lend no helping hand when they were crushed so low? We knew the vast disparity between them and the foe,-We knew our glory and our boast was freedom's cause to own, And yet our swords were idly sheathed when she was overthrown. We saw the right give way, we saw the wrong have power, We saw the sun go down in blood in that eventful hour: And yet no moon arose to them, no, not with glimmering light, To raise a hope in sinking hearts, 'twould not be always night. Oh England! England! would that thou hadst ta'en a kinder part, Hadst thou been the good Samaritan, and healed the broken heart, That thou hadst nobly interposed, and a firm friend hadst stood, And won the approval of thy God, a Nation's gratitude. They come to us as suppliants, on bended knee to crave That the famed for generosity, would stretch a hand to save, That we, who boast our household hearths, our glory, and our pride; That we, as friends, would aid them, nothing they asked beside. We helped them not. Oh dire disgrace! their bitter tears were poured, Their bleeding hearts were broken, and still was sheathed our sword. We live in peace and happiness, unmindful of their tears; We list our children's happy voice, to misery stop our ears; We rest in calm prosperity, 'tis well we can forget That the exile's thorny pillow, with his burning tears are wet; That when before our blazing fires, we cheerfully sit down, He who was once as blessed as we, friendless and poor, hath none; How are we altered since the time, told of in History's page Of old, when one* could warm the hearts of an uncultured age; Far distant was the holy fane, to perils oft exposed, What mattered it! the cause was right, and for that they interposed; They did not coldly calculate the perils of the way, They let the sense of right within over all else have sway; So did they burn the Infidel and Turk to overthrow, That women worked the banners, to bear against the foe. We boast our high refinement—to me this seems the fact, Much better can we talk than they, yet not so well can act! Oh! like Elisha's mantle, may our spirits catch the tone That lived in British hearts, when the Turk was overthrown. I would I had an Angel's pen, to kindle in men's souls The quenchless fires of sympathy, to aid ye exiled Poles. Proclaim it, Britons, in your streets, from house to house, Oh run! That Liberty in dust is laid, and tyranny has won!

^{*} Peter, the Hermit.

with villanous governments is a villain also. The re-establishment of Poland will put an end to the existence of such vicious governments. Without her Europe shall be for ever and ever a field of carnage, under the sway of tyranny, the prey of vice and filth, and the great mass of her people will ever work hard in the midst of hunger, and often of starvation, to maintain a few crowned infidels and their humbugging and crafty gang of favourites.

To those, therefore, who have hearts and sense to conceive, and goodwill to lessen the misery of mankind, who are ready and willing to help the sacred cause of Poland, the author begs to remonstate, that they will never have a better opportunity of doing so. The author does not seek glory, nor rank, title, nor money—he wishes the happiness of all without distinction, but according to every one's station. He would, if ever offered, decline the crown, the presidency, the ministry, an earldom, or a generalship, nay, all worldly titles and distinctions. A small neat cottage, with a handsome woman in it, educated, of good sense and temper, constitutes his heaven on earth, with entire indiffer-

Ye ladies fair, of Britain, swift let your fingers move For freedom and for liberty, work ye a work of love; But by your slender fingers wrought, let the silken banner wave, Not on the heights of victory, but on the Exile's grave; Let it say he firmly placed his trust, in a Christian nation's aid, And added to his other griefs, was that cherished hope betrayed; That Britain's happiness he saw, dwelt in that favoured isle, It had no wife, no child, no home, for him no sunny smile; Yet he lamented not for these, more bitter thoughts had birth, Poland was once as blest as she, now blotted from the earth. He hoped, he prayed to them to raise his country's fallen pride, And that she answered not his prayers, his last hope gone, he died! The time will come, is coming, ye shall again be free: Hope on, hope ever, trusting hearts, for your long lost liberty, God will avenge ye, gallant Poles, as working in your mines In darkness, and in misery, brightly his altar shines! Ne'er let the cry grow faint, but ceaseless raise your voice; Doubt not that he who holds men's hearts, will bid ye to rejoice, And if it be his will that ye no more on earth shall raise, 'Neath the sunny sky of Poland, a nation's shout of praise-Though ye may never hope on earth, for happiness or peace-There will come to ye, Children of Care! a time when grief must ceasc. Oh! bear it then, and never let your faith be overthrown, That those who meekly bear the cross, in Heaven shall wear a crown!

ELLEN A. OXENHAM.

Northampton, November 1840.

Such a high compliment the author values as the highest price for his troubles in exile, and considers it more valuable and more pleasant than if he had been decorated with the star of the garter from the British Queen, or croix d'honneur from Napoleon.

ence and independence of all religious and political opinions, which are only a dream or a play. The name of an honest and useful man would be the title which will surpass all other gaudy titles and denominations, which pride, vanity, greediness, tyranny and crime, invented to adorn the insignificant figures of mortal and perishable men. Should even mankind be so grateful, that wishing to immortalise the inventor they should offer to build Chimborazo* upon Dhawalagiri,† and upon these the highest pyramid of Egypt, the author would laugh at their vain attempt and empty eulogy; for the time is likely to arrive when those heavenheaded mountains will sink into the heart of the earth, and a new deluge having swept the face of nature and all the chains of mountains, all arts, monuments, and the whole race of human beings, will leave few savages to populate it again, and begin by building huts in which they will worship the sun and the serpent.

The invented power is so great and alarming, that its existence alone will be sufficient to command awe, fear, and obedience; and such a power, under the management of a committee of wise men, will be able to give rights to all individuals—justice to all nations, and blessing to the whole human race in a most peaceable and amicable manner. Ten years of their exertion and labour

may settle happily all mankind for ever.

Yet, beware! life is a bubble, it may burst any second; this will pass the invention into the hands of another man, who may be proud, revengeful, greedy, thirsty of glory, and even of blood. The invention may fall into the hand of a Polish Robespierre. What may the world expect then? I am neither a prophet nor anointed, nor inspired, but I can easily foresee and prediet the fate of Europe. Poland was always a noble and generous conqueror of her enemies-a ready and willing helper of her neighbours. She neither wrested nor tyrannised, but her honourable conduct, and heroic bravery, was repaid by the whole of Europe with the most abominable treachery and pillage. But now Poland will beat and punish, and, like England, who has condemned the Chinese to pay the expenses of the war, so Poland will condemn Europe to pay her shameful ravages and brutish imprudence. Methinks I see the man leading the machine, with an angry look, fiery face, and burning with a revengeful heart. Who then will be able to dispute his power? who will be able to check his fury? Europe, tremble! For all thy thrones shall be

^{*} Quito, in America, 21,000 feet.

dashed to dust, and burnt to ashes, the towns will be reduced to heaps of rubbish; all the priesthood will be banished, and England must widely open her seaports and shores, to shelter all European refined rogues and traitors. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, as rapacious pillagers, will be condemned to pay each L.300,000,000 for the massacre and destruction of Poland. England and France, as abettors and encouragers of criminality. as traitors themselves, and violators of the treaty of Vienna, and sharers of the incorporation of Cracow, L.200,000,000 each. All priests shall be banished, the half of Europeans massacred; and which class shall undergo tortures and death, the reader may easily conceive. The nations then will feel in their pockets the stupidity of their governments, their own ignorance, and deserved humiliation. I see that dreadfully enraged man swaying as a tyrant, and with a thundering voice, shouting madly, "Sword for sword, gibbet for gibbet, death for death." Peace will reign in Warsaw! for half of Europe may be dead! European men, think, and choose JUSTICE or DEATH.

